



Daily Report

East Europe

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Albania: Socialist Party Rejects Berisha's Greeting

AU1307155896 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 13 Jul 96 p 1

[Editorial: "Berisha Does Not Have the Moral Right To Greet the Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the day the illegal government was sworn in, Berisha found an opportunity to greet the Socialist Party [PS] over the process of reform in which it has been involved as its congress approaches. He said that 26 May was a historic date for the Albanian left, too, because it set it on the path of reform. President Berisha does not have the moral right to hail the processes of reform in the PS. His relations with this party have always been relations of extreme conflict, and the entire state propaganda machine that he instructs has organized incessant diversions. The connection Berisha makes between 26 May and the reform of the PS is one cannot in reality be justified. The reform of the PS would have begun even if 26 May had been different. As for the rape of the votes of the people that occurred on 26 May, inspired and blessed by Berisha himself, the stand of the PS has been unswerving, despite the reform process within the party.

Berisha deceives himself in vain that the PS may take a different stand on this issue. His statements about this are merely a further futile attempt to use diversionary tactics against the PS. Before welcoming the reform process in the PS, Berisha must undertake a series of other necessary steps, something he is unable to do. He must first denounce the affront to the free vote of the people committed on 26 May by the state he directs. He must then decree the release of PS Chairman Fatos Nano, a demand also made recently by the European Parliament. This would mean that Nano would be with his party comrades, able to make his contribution to the processes now taking place in the party, instead of being forbidden even family visits. Berisha must then announce free and honest elections according to the recommendations of the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the U.S. State Department, and must guarantee their conduct. Only after he has done all these things can Berisha have the right to talk about the PS. Without doing this, what he says is pure hypocrisy and demagoguery. The PS has long been used to this byzantine style in Berisha's politics.

Albania: Article Details New Meksi Cabinet, '25 Loyalists'

AU1207172896 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE
in Albanian 12 Jul 96 p 3

[Report by Rezear Xhaxhiu: "Meksi Chooses His 'Loyalists'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The 25 loyalists of the Meksi cabinet were announced at 1600 yesterday. In the presence of many journalists, Berisha announced the 16 ministers and nine secretaries of state that will lead the Albanian executive. New names have appeared, and five ministers of the Meksi cabinet have kept their posts. [Interior Minister] Musaraj, [Construction and Tourism Minister] Shehi, [Foreign Affairs Minister] Serreqi, [Justice Minister] Frasheri, and [Education Minister] Teliti have been left behind. Two women gain ministerial posts. [Finance Minister] Dylber Vrioni takes one step down in the ministerial hierarchy, while [Agriculture Minister] Halili moves laterally. [Human Rights Union Party leader] Melo's name does not figure on the list of ministers, and the National Front is not represented. [Culture Minister] Laco of the Social Democratic Union has been retained, and representatives of the Republican Party and the Christian Democratic Party have been elevated to secretaries of state. This puts an end to the mystery of the Albanian Government. The newly formed government has attracted new names, familiar faces, and also figures previously unknown in Albanian political life.

Halit Shamata's ascent to the post of interior minister has received comments as the most spectacular rise. He studied Albanian language and literature and later became a teacher and a poet. Shamata thus takes one of the most sensitive posts in the Meksi cabinet.

The ascent of Former Customs Director Ridvan Boda and Bamir Topi, former director of the Veterinary Research Institute, is also dramatic.

Arlinda Keci becomes minister of labor and social issues and was formerly the director of a directorate in this same ministry.

Edmond Lulja becomes education minister and was formerly the ministry's director of secondary education.

Besnik Gjongecaj, who was catapulted into the post of Democratic Party (PD) general secretary at the party's assembly at the beginning of April, has become head of a new Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

[Defense Minister] Zhulali, [Mining and Energy Minister] Xhaja, Laco, and [Health Minister] Cikuli have retained their ministerial positions. Sources within the PD confirmed the safety of their positions a few days ago, and explained the reasons. Zhulali's retention of his post is ascribed to his intermediary role between Albania and the structures of NATO and the favorable climate created in recent years between his ministry and the Pentagon. There has also been praise for Xhaja as energy minister. He has been called an effective minister and a good manager, successfully coping with the critical situation in the mines involving conflicts between the trade unions and the government.

Deputy Prime Minister Shehu also moves: He explained the reasons for the new appointments and the continuation of some of the previous ministers in their posts. Shehu says that professional success, reputation, and background have been the criteria for ministerial promotion. Shehu did not forget those left behind: "I thank them all for their work and dedication," Shehu said, calling it a normal fact of political life for a minister to leave his position and become a deputy or vice versa.

This is Shehu's official attitude, but other sources within the party do not agree with their boss. Some shortcomings in the Foreign Ministry, a mediocre education policy, and other symptoms in the Construction Ministry have been some of the reasons for the transfers of the relevant ministers. Shehu carefully avoided such terms, saying that "there is no room for speculation of this kind. This is a natural form of change such as happens everywhere." The lack of cabinet portfolios for the minor parties is striking. The prospect of Melo as emigration minister vanished with the appointment of a PD deputy to this post. Shehu also repudiated the idea that Melo's candidature had been ruled out at the last moment. "It was a matter of strategy, and does not rule out our maintaining good relations with him," he said, adding: "The possibility of a portfolio for the Human Rights Union was not discussed." The government team will be sworn in today in front of President Berisha, receiving his blessing to govern the country according to the motto: "With us, everybody wins."

Albania: List of Ministerial Appointments Published

AU1307135796 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 12 Jul 96 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. Mr. Tritan Shehu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs;

2. Mr. Halit Shamata, interior minister;
3. Mr. Ridvan Bode, finance minister;
4. Mr. Safet Zhulali, defense minister;
5. Mr. Kristofor Peci, justice minister;
6. Ms. Suzana Panariti, minister of industry, transport, and trade;
7. Mr. Abdyl Xhaja, minister of mining resources and energy;
8. Mr. Albert Brojka, minister of public works, land use and tourism;
9. Mr. Maksim Cikuli, minister of health and the environment;
10. Mr. Bamir Topi, minister of agriculture and food;
11. Mr. Edmond Lulja, minister of education and sports;
12. Mr. Besnik Gjongecaj, minister of higher education and scientific research;
13. Mr. Teodor Laco, minister of culture, youth, and women;
14. Ms. Arlinda Keci, minister of labor and social issues;
15. Mr. Dylber Vrioni, minister of privatization;
16. Mr. Hasan Halili, minister without portfolio;
17. Mr. Arjan Madhi, general secretary to the Council of Ministers;
18. Mr. Selim Belortaja, secretary of state for economic relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
19. Mr. Robert Ceku, secretary of state for tourism at the Ministry of Public Works, Land Use, and Tourism;
20. Mr. Njazi Kosovrasti, secretary of state for local government at the Interior Ministry;
21. Mr. Leonard Demi, secretary of state at the Defense Ministry;
22. Mr. Sokol Bejleri, secretary of state at the Ministry of Mining Resources and Energy;
23. Mr. Arben Babameto, secretary of state for transportation at the Ministry of Industry, Transportation, and Trade;
24. Ms. Marjeta Pronjari, secretary of state for sports at the Ministry of Education and Sports;
25. Ms. Roza Pati, secretary of state for youth and women at the Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Women.

Bulgaria: SDS's Kostov on Presidential Election Issues

AU1207151896 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Jul 96
p 9

[Interview with Ivan Kostov, chairman of National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "In Bulgaria, a State of Emergency Is Gradually Being Introduced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Veleva] Mr. Kostov, your predictions that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] would nominate Academician Blagovest Sendov as its presidential candidate have not proved correct. Where did you miscalculate and why has the left finally chosen Pirinski?

[Kostov] Pirinski is supported by the broad party membership. He has the support of an enormous section of those Socialists who are disenchanted with Videnov's policies and who see in Pirinski evidence of alternative thinking and behavior. Pirinski's candidature reflects the idea, which the Socialists hope will save them, of returning to the national consensus of the time of the National Roundtable. It represents a protest against the terrible decline in the country and the repeated failures in politics.

From another aspect, Pirinski's nomination as presidential candidate is one way to remove him as an alternative to Videnov.

For us, however, the most important thing at present is to settle the problem of Pirinski's citizenship, if we want to regard the presidential elections not as part of the inner struggles within the BSP, but as a chance to choose one of the two alternatives for Bulgaria. This is why we asked the Constitutional Court to make a ruling on the matter.

[Veleva] Why have you done this at this precise moment? From a tactical viewpoint, would it have not been more advantageous for you to do it after the candidates are registered?

[Kostov] In our view, it is very important to know who our opponent is, so that we can organize our election campaign. We would not want to direct it against one pair of running mates and for the pair to change 30 days before the election, thus catching us off balance. This is a favorite trick of the BSP. They used it frequently during Berov's administration. We have to be sure whom we are fighting. In our view, Pirinski has many weaknesses that are not apparent at first glance, but we are preparing seriously to reveal them. For example, we regard as a sign of his lack of imagination the way in

which he has shamelessly imitated the message of Petur Stoyanov's campaign.

[Veleva] If Pirinski is elected despite the Constitutional Court's ruling, how will you react?

[Kostov] We will appeal to the Supreme Court. The BSP can be sure that we are gathering and already have a lot of documentation on Pirinski. We are familiar with the circumstances surrounding him and we are continuing to document them. In this way, we are preparing for the "Pirinski case" most seriously.

[Veleva] However, some people say that you want to eliminate him through a formality, instead of meeting him on the battlefield of the presidential campaign.

[Kostov] The Pirinski problem is not one for the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], but it concerns the Bulgarian state. If we allow him to be elected, the Constitutional Court will rule on the legality of the elections, whether or not it makes a ruling concerning his citizenship, so that this issue is bound to be raised at one point or another. However, in the latter case, this would be a blow against the institutions in Bulgaria. You can imagine what a collision this would provoke in our domestic politics! If we are indifferent toward the issue, we will be laying a delayed-action mine in Bulgarian political life. It would be proper for the BSP to ask about Pirinski itself.

[Veleva] One of the biggest criticisms leveled against the opposition is that it wants to come to power in a ruined country. Why have you given the cabinet a breathing space?

[Kostov] The opposition cannot take power at the moment. It has to win the elections according to the democratic and constitutional rules adopted by our state. I am against the opposition taking to the streets before the presidential elections. This is not a winning move. We have to adopt a form of behavior that leads us to political victory. With strong-arm methods we can achieve nothing, except to provide the BSP with grounds for declaring a state of emergency. We will show the people an alternative government program and defeat the BSP with this program at the elections. Let us not waste these opportunities by taking roads that only lead us backwards!

[Veleva] Some circles within the BSP are thinking about introducing a state of emergency. How can this come about?

[Kostov] This cannot happen through parliament. At the same time, however, there is a creeping process of introducing a state of emergency outside the law. We will implacably resist this! Blocking an important

Sofia street without any grounds, ordering private mills to supply flour at fixed prices, committing the entire apparatus of the state to distributing grain, introducing ration coupons, setting a ration of 200-300 grams of bread a day when the wartime ration was 700 grams, confiscating part of the deposits in the banks—all these are in fact measures that are taken in a state of emergency.

[Veleva] Nevertheless, the suspicion remains that the opposition is deliberately supporting the cabinet because it needs Videnov. You said at one time that you would not allow the BSP to gain its second wind with a new cabinet before the elections.

[Kostov] The BSP can no longer get its wind back from anywhere. They are not capable of ridding themselves of Zhan Videnov. At the BSP plenums held in March and May, on both occasions Videnov won united support for his policies. Since there are no other policies, there is no other prime minister, either. In practice, Videnov has tied the BSP hand and foot and is now surviving by extracting the last remnants of its strength. The most terrible thing is that he is not aware of his own responsibilities. The Bulgarian prime minister has no higher responsibility than to feed the people. Because Videnov is not aware of this, whether it is due to immaturity, irresponsibility, or heartlessness regarding the fate of the ordinary man, he is turning into a disaster for Bulgaria.

[Veleva] Why are the squabbles from the past now resurfacing within the SDS?

[Kostov] The SDS cannot abandon its principles, which have preserved its influence on a certain portion of the Bulgarian electorate. Today, the old thesis of anticommunism is being transformed into the principle of rejection of a coalition government with the BSP. We remain faithful to the ideas of returning the land to its owners, the restitution of property, freedom of speech, and the uncontaminated civic position. We all regard as positive the experience gathered from the SDS administration in 1992. However, if we remain loyal only to these old principles of SDS policy, this would mean restricting our influence only to a limited section of the population. Petur Stoyanov has chosen a different strategy and this marks a new beginning. The new beginning means changing our messages and altering our political behavior. I do not ignore the fact that some of the SDS members want us to be an anticommunist opposition, perhaps for ever, but I realize that the overwhelming majority of the people who give us their trust, give it in order that we do not merely remain an anticommunist opposition, but become the rulers who will save Bulgaria.

[Vitkova] Are you aware of any threat to your leadership?

[Kostov] No, I have always said that I pose no problem for the SDS.

Czech Republic: Klaus Discusses Government Policy Statement

AU1207185296 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
12 Jul 96 p 3

[“Regular” interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: “I Do Not Want To Act Indifferently to the Citizens’ Views”]

[FBIS Translated Text] In today’s regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, we deal with questions concerning the government’s policy statement. The prime minister also comments on the issue of higher territorial-administration division and transport services.

[Krejci] Unlike the other two coalition partners, your party makes it clear that it would neither supply the text of the government’s policy statement to the social democrats prior to its presentation in parliament nor discuss it with the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD]. Why not?

[Klaus] I am not aware of the other coalition partners doing anything else. If, however, one of the partner coalition parties wanted to give the government statement to the social democrats, it would be superfluous for me also to provide them with it. Nevertheless, I can responsibly state that not a word has ever been uttered in my presence concerning any consultation with the social democrats on the topic of the text of the government’s policy statement. The possibility was mentioned that the parliamentary chairman could receive the text of the government’s policy statement prior to hearing it in the Chamber, when he sits in the chair and listens to the prime minister’s speech.

[Krejci] Nevertheless, the CSSD considers your stand a violation of the agreement reached at the meeting with President Vaclav Havel.

[Klaus] Each party interprets this agreement in its own way. We all gave our oral approval to the text of the speech, rather than an agreement, a statement made by the president. The speech did not, however, include any, not even the least mention, prior consultation of the government’s policy statement with the CSSD.

[Krejci] For what reasons does the CSSD want the government’s policy statement to be formulated in a rather general form and not in a more specific manner as demanded by the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People’s Party [KDU-CSL]?

[Klaus] I have no idea where the discussions emerged from on who wants what form of government policy statement. Where did the speculation come from that the ODS wanted this or that and that the first version was

drafted by the ODS, while someone else prepared the second version? None of this is true. The government policy statement is being prepared in a completely standard manner, i.e., in a process of several steps. It will be of approximately the same length as that of four years ago, i.e., approximately a one-hour speech or about 30 pages of text. Everything else is just speculation issued by I know not whom.

[Krejci] Many supporters of your party, and not only of yours but also of the other coalition parties, can get the impression from the present situation that you are yielding too much. The reason is that money will be spent on things that were previously described as unnecessary. Examples are the spending on the establishment and operation of the higher territorial-administration entities or the housing support to a greater extent than intended by the previous government. Could it be that the coalition parties will lose these voters?

[Klaus] I have the reputation of an adversary of the higher territorial-administration entities. I believe that it is an unnecessary interlink that does not help anyone. Nevertheless, it will lead, among other things, to a chaotization of political life, and it will not be free. At present, however, there is no one with whom we could form a coalition, if we insisted on not having the regional self-administration. Regarding some of the other items that appear in the coalition agreement and in the government’s policy statement, such as the housing issue or the transport service coverage, we are not discussing these matters because they are also being discussed by the CSSD. We included them in these texts simply because they are the two most frequently discussed issues at all the meetings I have attended. They really are the topics that move this country and it is obvious that something must be done about them. They are not topics obtained by the CSSD through defiance but rather spheres needing attention, which I have realized, too. Indeed, I am not indifferent to the voters’ views and do not wish to act indifferently regarding these views.

Czech Republic: Klaus on Drafting Government Policy Statement

AU1207163196 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
12 Jul 96 p 2

[“Regular” interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova; place and date not given: “The Opposition Did Not Affect the Text of the Policy Statement”]

[FBIS Translated Text] This time, LIDOVE NOVINY discusses with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus mainly the government’s policy statement.

[Martinkova] Has the government's policy statement necessitated many compromises?

[Klaus] I have absolutely no idea where the discussion and speculation have come from on compromises and deviations from the statement by the right-wing government. I have no inkling of who came up with this idea that we are in a defensive position. The government policy statement is definitely a statement by this coalition government and it does not include a single sentence that would be written any differently.

[Martinkova] I was thinking of internal coalition compromises. Were they similar to those on which the coalition agreement originated?

[Klaus] No additional compromises appeared in comparison with the coalition agreement. There is no reason for any. The interests of individual ministers start to emerge in drafting the government's policy statement that their agenda should appear more prominently than the others and that a door should remain open for extensive activities in their sector in the future. Thereby, they actually indirectly strive to have a door open for a possible influx of funds in their sector. But there has really been no right-left confrontation or side glances at the opposition.

[Martinkova] So you do not take into consideration the statement by the social democrats that the government policy statement should not irritate them?

[Klaus] That is not a statement by the social democrats, but rather my own, which I made several days after the elections and which various people reiterate in various ways.

[Martinkova] Would you agree that the entire issue of submitting the policy statement to the social democrats is rather artificial, perhaps just a matter of prestige?

[Klaus] I believe it a pseudo-problem. A government policy statement is a speech rather than a text. In other words, this speech will be delivered in parliament and I expect it to be followed by a discussion. The idea that some kind of prediscussion should take place, that the government would agree on the draft policy statement,

then present it to someone for perusal, and subsequently call another session to rewrite it is really a very original concept.

[Martinkova] How do you feel about the angry reactions of the coalition partners to the Civic Democratic Party's proposal for closer cooperation that could result in integration?

[Klaus] I believe that our formulation was so mild that it did not deserve such angry responses. The words that we chose were very careful and it is a pity that the reaction was as it was.

Czech Republic: Social Democrats Support for Government Wanes

LD12071524/6 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democrats are less and less willing to tolerate, let alone support, the minority government, the party's chairman Milos Zeman said today. Marika Taborska has more details:

[Taborska] According to Zeman, members of his party are becoming more and more critical of the government. The reason for this is the arrogant attitude of the Civic Democratic Party and Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to the Social Democrats' demand that a discussion be held on the government policy statement before the prime minister submits it to the Chamber of Deputies [parliament].

Zeman said that parliament's approval of the government policy statement depended mainly on whether the government parties would be willing to discuss things in a calm and businesslike manner. The Social Democrat chairman added that he had created scope for such businesslike discussions by his decision yesterday to convene the next parliamentary session not for 16, but for 23 July. Zeman also repeated the demand that the text of the government policy statement be made available in advance, not only to the representatives of his party, but also to all the other deputies as well.

Slovakia: UN Human Rights Commissioner on Foundations Law

*AU1207154696 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak
11 Jul 96 p 1*

[Report by Ivan Ceredejev: "UN Commissioner Concerned About the Law on Foundations; Nonprofit Organizations in the Center of Attention of Foreign Political Circles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jose Ayala Lasso, the UN high commissioner for human rights, has addressed a letter to the leading representatives of the Slovak Republic, in which he expressed concern over the consequences of the approval of the Law on Foundations. As the Presidential Office confirmed to PRACA yesterday, the letter was sent by diplomatic post from Geneva to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 17. On June 28, Minister Juraj Schenk asked President Michal Kovac, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Chairman Ivan Gasparovic to take a stand on it. The UN high commissioner writes in his letter, among other things, that the law in the approved wording could restrict the existence and work of foundations and nonprofit organizations in the Slovak Republic and unfavorably influence the freedom of assembly in the country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not informed the press or public about the letter thus far. In this context, the Ministry of Justice asked the Third Sector Board for the documentation that the foundations' representatives had provided to the UN commissioner when they informed him about the state of preparations for this law.

The official reaction from the representative of the largest world organization is the latest in the list of important foreign political institutions' unfavorable responses to the passage of the Law on Foundations, which the NRSR approved on May 22 and, after its return by the president for reconsideration, reapproved one month later. In his personal letter of 10 June to the Third Sector Board, Hans van den Broek, the EU commissioner for foreign relations, also expresses the opinion that the current legal norm could restrict activities of independent organizations. He points out that he reminded Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman of this during their last meeting and that he also raised this issue in discussion with members of the EU-Slovak Joint Parliamentary Committee. The European Commission asked experts to work out a legal study on the Slovak foundation law and its conformity with EU legislation. The results of this expertise were unambiguously negative. The Slovak Government received the study as well. The recent visit by Hillary Clinton to Slovakia, during which she was accompanied by the U.S. Am-

bassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, a member of the U.S. Administration, also confirmed the striking difference between the understanding of the position of foundations and nonprofit organizations in Slovakia and abroad. The U.S. President's wife devoted 80 minutes of her seven-hour visit to Bratislava, 20 minutes longer than planned in the protocol, to a meeting with representatives of foundations and nongovernmental organizations. The discussion, which was organized by the U.S. Embassy, took place at her personal request. The U.S. first lady spoke quite unambiguously: "I hope that, not only in Slovakia but in all states of the world, governments will finally realize the immense importance of nongovernmental organizations." Madeleine Albright's presence gave her words the official seal of the U.S. Administration's political position.

Slovakia has found itself in a period when the prospects of its development considerably depend on the views of foreign countries, particularly the part of the world that it would like to join. The decision on NATO's expansion will be made toward the end of the year. The negative attitude of a part of the Washington administration toward Slovakia, expressed in the bill on NATO expansion, in which we simply do not figure, is also known. The government coalition is thoroughly familiar with the well known objections from the circles of NATO and the EU, whose membership we also seek. The objections have been expressed in subtle diplomatic language but, for those with comprehension difficulties, also in plainer words: in several official documents, including the notorious demarches. Among the fundamental requirements for the Slovak Republic's entry into transatlantic structures is respecting the will of citizens and their right to assembly, reflected in legal norms such as the law on foundations.

Slovakia: Prime Minister Meciar on Slovak-Hungarian Relations

*LD1207223296 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1640 GMT 12 Jul 96*

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Viliam Jobko; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Jobko] This week, our political scene has been stirred up by the joint resolution adopted on 5 July, at the Budapest conference titled Hungary and Hungarians Beyond the Borders. In a statement issued as a reaction to the resolution, our government says that it unequivocally breaches the basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary.

In your view, Prime Minister, in what way has the treaty been breached and why does the Slovak Government regard the resolution as a specific step against the spirit of the Council of Europe's framework agreement on the protection of ethnic minorities?

[Meciar] The indignation with which this resolution was received in Slovakia is fully justified. There are several aspects.

First, the Hungarian Government has become involved in the process. It was said that the activities of ethnic Hungarian minority will be financed by the Hungarian state. Political parties are becoming closely interlinked and ethnic Hungarian parties on the territory of other states are becoming some kind of a tool of this policy toward those states.

The resolution is not in line with our historical experience, when many years ago a major human tragedy began. Neither is it in line with our way of perceiving things and our legal order. It comes close to violating Slovakia's sovereignty. The territorial administration and division of Slovakia will be decided in our country. We want to be partners of Budapest. For better or for worse. Rather for better. What we do not want, however, is to be under Budapest's patronage. We will decide our own affairs here in Bratislava.

The resolution is also worrying because there is no ethnically pure area in our country. We cannot change people's identity according to the wishes of political elites. We cannot create autonomous areas for those who do not want them. And Slovaks cannot live in an autonomy in their own country.

The whole resolution also goes against the existing legal situation, according to which the main unit of each state is a citizen, not a member of an ethnic minority. We are looking for ways to bring ethnic minorities closer, not to divide them. Therefore, the Budapest resolution is unacceptable for us.

The resolution is also at variance with the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty as well as with the international law, since collective rights have not been codified anywhere in these documents. This is also the reason why the resolution refers to the spirit and not the letter of the agreements.

It is unusual that Hungary, which is not a member of NATO, should set the conditions for admission to NATO. The resolution is addressed not only to us, but also to other countries neighboring with Hungary, as well as to the member countries of the European Union and NATO that are bound by the documents of the Council of Europe as well as their own internal standards, and that do not accept this kind of legislation.

We are also waiting to see how these countries will react. We do not accept the document, we reject it. And to those who wanted to explain something to us, I would like to say once again that, as long as this government is in power, we will not discuss our internal affairs and setup, which is in line with international standards, either with Budapest or anyone else. We will not discuss any autonomy.

[Jobko] Before the signing and ratification of the basic Slovak-Hungarian Treaty there were views voiced in our country drawing attention to the possibility that irredentists might abuse some formulations in this document. Has the Budapest resolution confirmed these fears?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] The protest by the Slovak public and the Slovak Government is justified, among other things, by the fact that it draws attention to the principal articles of the treaty that this resolution violated. Slovak territory is sovereign, its integrity is guaranteed and recognized. The principle of human and civic rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities is guaranteed. The document does not include a single word, a single mention, or a possible interpretation in favor of collective rights.

I think that the treaty has a positive impact in this context as it is a legal document with legal authority to which the Slovak Republic can refer, pointing out that it is being violated—and, if such violation continues, the republic can ask for international legal protection.

[Jobko] Given the developments in Slovak-Hungarian relations, do you expect or consider a meeting with your counterpart, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn?

[Meciar] I have invited Mr. Horn to attend a meeting of prime ministers from the countries of the Central European Free Trade Agreement and I have received a written confirmation of his attendance. This is good. At present we are not preparing any meeting between us two and it is not a pressing issue.

As far as Slovak-Hungarian problems are concerned, I see them in a positive light, as since 1995 we have experienced great detente, having solved many disputed issues and considerably developed our economic cooperation. We are prepared to continue our cooperation. However, we say no to certain methods, ways, or to political conditions.

The issue is not only that of good relations with a neighbor with whom we want to be on good terms, because problems between us are hindering the integration of both of us into the EU and NATO. We want to have the legal standing and independence of the sovereign Slovak Republic respected.

Turning into our midst, we have to say that those deputies of our National Council who attended the Budapest deliberations should not have acted as [word indistinct] and in my view should not have signed such documents. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Ruling Party Accuses Hungary of 'Gross Interference'

LD1307193696 Bratislava VTV Television in Slovak
1730 GMT 13 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The national board of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] today held a session in Kamenica nad Cirochou [in east Slovakia]. [passage omitted] During the session we contacted Vladimir Hagara, the HZDS spokesman, and spoke to him on the phone.

[Begin recording] [correspondent] The agenda of the session included the Budapest conference entitled Hungary and Hungarians beyond the borders.

[Hagara] The HZDS national board sees the joint communique adopted at the conference of Hungarian government and political representatives held in Budapest on 4 and 5 July 1996 as gross interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Slovak Republic. [end recording]

In this context the HZDS national board recommended to the parliament, the speaker and the foreign, the parliamentary mandate and immunity committees of the National Council to take steps against Hungary's destabilization efforts in Europe. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: SNS Condemns 'Unacceptable' Actions by Budapest

LD1207222396 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network
in Hungarian 1530 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Leaders of the Slovak National Party [SNS] have said that the possibility of abrogating the Slovak-Hungarian treaty and banning the Hungarian coalition parties should be examined in view of the closing declaration of the recent conference on Hungary and Hungarians living beyond the borders. Alfred Somogyi reports on an SNS press briefing earlier today.

[Somogyi] [passage omitted] Anna Malikova, deputy chairman of the SNS, said, among other things, at the party's press briefing that Hungary testing other countries' tolerance now; that is, it is trying to ascertain the limit, trying to find out how far it can go. Therefore, Slovakia must tell Budapest in no uncertain terms that endeavors of this kind are completely unacceptable now and in the future, too. [passage omitted]

Jozef Sedovic, another SNS deputy chairman, said that the SNS, as a junior partner in the government coalition, is considering whether to launch a debate on the abrogation of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. Words are not enough; actions, too, are needed to tackle these deeds of irredentism, Sedovic said.

Anna Malikova drew attention to the fact that the Budapest declaration was issued after the election of an ethnic Hungarian bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Slovakia, 95 percent of whose faithful were ethnic Hungarians, and after a recent meeting of the world association of Hungarian mayors in Budapest. This meeting, Malikova said, had been a briefing and training for mayors in southern Slovakia and it had been also attended by Csaba Tabajdi, state secretary at the [Hungarian] prime minister's office in charge of minority policy.

According to the information received by the SNS, there will be another similar briefing and training session in Budapest at the end of July. All this indicates that Budapest is directly coordinating with Slovak local governments as if these were part of the Hungarian state administration, she concluded.

Slovakia: ZRS Officials Accused of Privatizing

AU1207175796 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 12 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Report by Jan Gregor: "Miroslav Kocnar Claims that Jan Luptak, Stefan Gavornik, and Some Parliamentary Deputies for the Association of Workers of Slovakia Have Been Involved in Privatization; Minister Jan Mraz Supposedly Owns Several Building Companies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference yesterday, Miroslav Kocnar, chairman of the United Party of Labor (ZSP), reacted critically to the complaints of Stefan Gavornik, president of the National Property Fund [FNM] Presidium, about the situation in the FNM Presidium where his Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] has only two representatives. According to Gavornik, this allows the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to decide by vote anything that it wants, irrespective of the views of its coalition partners.

Miroslav Kocnar said that he had in his hands a complete list of companies that have been privatized by the ZRS. Names such as those of FNM President Stefan Gavornik, ZRS Chairman Jan Luptak, and some ZRS deputies crop up everywhere on that list. According to Kocnar, these individuals' interest in having their privatization projects approved was the reason for the ZRS's awakening two weeks ago and its subsequent return to the bosom of the HZDS.

Among the largest projects realized in this way Kocnar mentioned the privatization of Vinoprodukt Raca, the Ladce cement plant, or the privatization of the Stein brewery in Bratislava, which is not yet absolutely clear.

Miroslav Kocnar also accused Jan Mraz, minister of construction and public works, of dirty dealings. According to Kocnar, at the time of joining the government, Jan Mraz had two limited liability companies operating in the building industry. Their number has tripled since then. This problem was also dealt with in the parliamentary committee for the incompatibility of posts, but the conflict of interests was voted down. "If a large order is involved, his firms get it," Miroslav Kocnar said.

"We are not privatizing anything; Luptak would wring our necks," Stefan Gavornik, president of the FNM Presidium, said about Miroslav Kocnar's statements and challenged Kocnar to present the list of companies that the ZRS is supposed to have privatized.

"I offer Miroslav Kocnar a bet. If he proves his assertion, I will resign; if not, let him leave parliament," Gavornik said.

We did not manage to reach the other two officials whom Kocnar mentioned by name—Jan Luptak and Minister Jan Mraz—in their offices.

Hungary: Kovacs Views Slovak Reaction to Hungarian Summit

LD1407214796 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 96

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by unidentified reporter—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Reporter] The recent so-called Hungarian-Hungarian summit has created a storm. [passage omitted] What was the aim of this meeting? Why was it necessary?

[Kovacs] It was necessary for us to understand each other's position better, and for us in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who implement foreign policy, it was important to dispel the anxieties formulated by the leaders of the organizations of Hungarians beyond the borders. They were anxious to know what would happen if Hungary were to be admitted to euro-atlantic organizations such as the European Union [EU] and NATO in advance of the state in which they live. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Did you expect such a strong reaction from Slovakia or the other neighboring countries?

[Kovacs] No, we did not, because the summit indicated no change in Hungary's foreign policy endeavors whatsoever. The issues about which the Slovak side loudly complain now were included virtually word for word in the Hungarian Government's program, which was adopted in July 1994 and which has been followed by us in the past years both in our actions and in our statements on relevant issues. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How do you explain the vehemence of the Slovak reaction to the summit?

[Kovacs] Distrust in the Slovak-Hungarian relationship has obviously played a part in this vehemence. This is the only reason why the Slovak side misinterpreted the intentions formulated by the joint declaration of the summit. I do not rule out that Slovak domestic political factors have also played a role, perhaps, in the intensity of the reaction. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] You said that the Hungarian position has not changed, but do you think that the neighboring countries can see a change in Hungary's official stand on autonomy?

[Kovacs] Hungary, or the Hungarian Government, does not have an official stand on autonomy in the sense that we would declare a form of autonomy which we considered to be the best for the Hungarian minority in neighboring countries. We would not have such a stand, if only because the situation of the neighboring countries and the Hungarian communities living there

are not completely identical. [passage omitted] Hungary is able to support autonomy endeavors that accord with European norms [passage omitted]

Hungary: 'Text' of Torgyan's Controversial Speech
96CH0090A (Internet) Budapest Fuggetlen Kisgazda
Part WWW in Hungarian 14 Mar 96 pp 1-12

["Text" of speech given by FKgP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan to the legislature on the eve of Hungary's national holiday, 15 March]

[FBIS Translated Text] My fellow countrymen, Hungarians!

Disgusting pseudoliberal vermin and vultures have infested our homeland, and while the liberal vermin devours the noble body of our homeland from the inside, the liberal vultures rip and tear our unfortunate nation from the outside, the nation that has been dismembered in Trianon and further cut down in Paris. But we do not permit this to happen!

In the 1,100th-year of Hungarian nationhood in the Carpathian basin, we will not permit Hungary to be paralyzed and once again be allotted the sad fate of peoples living on the periphery. Carrying away and dispersing our nation is unacceptable; wasting and transferring into foreign hands 70 percent of our national treasures is unacceptable; dissolving 1.5 million workplaces and transforming the industrious, hard-working Hungarian people into an army of unemployed is unacceptable.

We will not permit, we will not let this nation to be brought to ruin. Our ancestors did not permit this to happen in 1848, and we will not permit this to happen either!

It would be unacceptable if this nation had to witness its final hour. But the truth is that this nation finds itself in extreme danger. Just think of it this way: Each year a population as large as that of the city of Cegled disappears, because that is the number by which people who die exceed the number of those who are born.

And what does Gyula Horn and his government do in response? He wants to give preferences to homosexuals while young Hungarians are unable to get married and while women are unable to bear children because their entitlements have been taken away and because our maternity centers have been shut down.

It is unacceptable that the Hungarian nation is being hamstrung as a result of basic agreements that betray our nation. The silencing of the Hungarian people by fascist language laws, unprecedented in the history of the world, is unacceptable. The attempt to silence

Hungarian people by virtue of Romanian language laws in pure Hungarian Transylvania, the toleration of which amounts to the death of a nation, is unacceptable.

Can we permit the Horn government to pass this country into foreign hands permanently? One wonders, do members of the blind liberal-bolshevik government recognize the unprecedented size and density of the multitude that swarmed today not only Kossuth Square, but whose members also stand on Alkotmany Street, on the Museum steps, and under the arcades of the Ministry of Agriculture, and form a human chain around the parliament building. And if they do not want to notice this multitude, I have a wish for this country's most popular person and appointed leader: Tomorrow, when he raises the state flag on the empty Kossuth Square, let the multitude presently numbering 100,000 assist him in raising the flag, because they could then say that the 15 March opening ceremony attained an unprecedented success. And if the liberal government does not want to recognize the multitude, it should suffice for Gyula Horn to open his windows to become convinced that the Hungarian people do not want him! The Hungarian people reject the policies pursued by Gyula Horn and his government, policies which ruin the nation!

I believe that the liberal-bolshevik danger which presently threatens our country is greater than ever before. This is so because extending the bolshevik takeover during the past several years to include property has caused greater damage to this country than all the damage it had suffered during World War II. You must recognize the fact that they caused more than 70 percent of all national assets to disappear in order to hamstring the active force of the Hungarian people. But we cannot be hamstrung! We are Hungarians!

If the highly esteemed President Clinton could say in this country, at Taszar, that he came to visit the U.S. Army, the best armed forces in the world, why should we, Hungarians, not be permitted to say about ourselves that this nation has always been strong enough to defend itself, and that accordingly, this nation must also be able to defend itself today. If this legion has come to Kossuth Square now, despite the cold weather, defying all difficulties, it will also voice the unified will of the multitude and will reject Hungary's most damaging government, the Horn government. At that time, this solid core of the Hungarian people which gathered at Kossuth Square will be able to raise the flag of this country higher than it has been raised by our ancestors ever before during the existence of our nation.

We believe that, at the center of Europe, at the threshold of the third millennium, this nation deserves to elevate itself to a height that could be the peak in its history.

We start out by saying that the Hungarian people must be victorious in Hungary at last, that we must turn this country into an independent country which truly does not depend on anyone, and that by kicking aside the liberal vermin and by chasing away the carrion vultures, we must implement truly national policies. My fellow countrymen, springtime is approaching, and Hungarian people are used to fumigate in the spring! Let us also fumigate!

We must not permit this nation to be rendered incapable of performing in its own country! It is unacceptable to have a situation in which this nation has no Hungarian consciousness, in which Hungarian consciousness is being eradicated, and in which Hungarian consciousness is not permitted to be taught in schools.

In a country in which the countryside has always produced an abundance of talent it is unacceptable to have a situation in which the countryside is characterized by hunger, where it is the children primarily who go hungry. In a countryside where food is produced for the nation.

The same way it is unacceptable that the Hungarian working class is being converted into a group of hired slaves, the people from the countryside into farm hands, and the entire Hungarian nation into a service provider nation.

Remembering 1848, this nation must not tolerate anyone who in its own country renders the most talented sons of the nation incapable of acting. What kind of descendants are we of the heroes of 1848, if we permit the evolution of liberalism in Hungary? Hungary does not belong to the liberals, it belongs to the Hungarian people! And the time has come at last for us to make the nation understand that we will not tolerate, we will not permit the Hungarian people to be robbed of everything!

What are we going to do? First of all, on the eve of the anniversary of our sacred revolution I promise you that when the time for the election of National Assembly representatives comes we will unite the Hungarian nation, and the Hungarian people will be victorious over liberal-bolshevism and foreign interests. I do not want anyone to misinterpret my words. We are not against foreigners, we profess the same as our King St. Stephen professed in his admonitions: Provide appropriate opportunities for foreigners, but we must be aware of the fact that this country belongs to Hungarians, that this country was occupied by Hungarians, and that, above all, in this country the enforcement of Hungarian interests is of primary concern.

The Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] promises that once the liberal-bolshevik antinational ideals are

swept away, it will ensure the uplift of the Hungarian people by following the Hungarian path. It is not true that the Hungarian nation must live the way it does in the center of Europe, at the threshold of the third millennium. The Hungarian nation was always able to produce its own bread and was able to produce for the people such an abundance of food and everything else needed, that an abundance remained to be given to others. But a situation in which we have enough only to give to others, while we receive nothing is unacceptable.

We find it unacceptable that the Hungarian nation is overcome by foreign interests to an extent that by now one cannot buy Hungarian goods in the Hungarian market, that no domestic market exists at all, that on occasion the Hungarian people take off their hats and linger for credit in banks acquired by foreign interests, and that the living conditions of Hungarian people are being trampled on in order to place liberal interests above Hungarian interests.

It should suffice you to visit the 12th District to see the school under construction, a school where future leaders of Hungary will be trained. The head of the institution was the one who gave this characterization to a Hungarian reporter. But Hungary has always chosen its own leaders ever since the days of Chieftain Arpad. It did so by a compact sealed with blood or over the frozen Danube, as appropriate, but it was always the people who selected their own leaders, and we must not tolerate situations in which foreigners designate leaders for us, just as we must not tolerate a situation in which the Hungarian people are governed by non-Hungarians. Everyone's understanding of this is extremely important; having sworn allegiance to the spirit of 1848, I request that you swear with me to defend the Hungarian people: "We swear, we swear that we no longer will be prisoners!"

We swear that we will not permit our people to be reduced to slavery, even though it is more difficult now to sever economic ties than it was to escape the caterpillars of Soviet tanks. We see this clearly and we have said this years ago when we warned you that "the tanks will depart, but the banks will stay." And what did the banks do to us? The banks were placed in foreign hands. Bankers abound in earthly goods by now, while the Hungarian people receive starvation wages lower than those once paid to unfortunate child laborers in Vietnam or Thailand. We will not tolerate, we will not permit this to happen, we say "stop" to those who endanger the nation!

We do so, because those who want to destroy the living conditions of the Hungarian people in Hungary endanger the nation. Those who place foreign interests above

Hungarian interests endanger the Hungarian nation. For this reason, having united the Hungarian people, having united all those conservative forces which want to uplift the Hungarian nation, the FKgP must enlist the support of all these forces. And we include here the National Alliance, we include the 1956 Association, we include POFOSZ [Association of Political Prisoners], we include the World Federation of Freedom Fighters, and we include all those who are engaged in uplifting the Hungarian people. We also include our sister party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the masses of conservative members of the [Hungarian] Democratic Forum [MDF], committed to national ideals, who always attested to the cause of the Hungarian people, and we include all those brothers and sisters of ours, who wish to proceed with us in unity, as forces outside the party.

We will stand up jointly, hand in hand, against the evil of liberalism, this is how we will stand up, in indissoluble union, against those who assault the interests of the Hungarian people. Unity is strength, and I remind you that our tragedy at Mohacs occurred when the best of Hungarian people bled to death in vain while at least two or three armies with arms waiting watched as the best of Hungarians perished. Just as a few years ago the best of Hungarians with arms on the sidelines watched as we perished.

But the mass of people gathered here today represents a clear testimony for the need to join together, a clear commitment to the future of the Hungarian people. And we, the headquarters staff of the FKgP, promise that we want to serve the interests of the nation humbly. We do not permit anyone to place himself above Hungarian interests, the Hungarian nation. We are a team, we proceed together, we work together, we will win together, and we will enjoy the fruits of our victory together.

In the opinion of the Smallholders Party there was no generational change, and therefore we state our watchword: The liberal-bolsheviks shall get out once and for all and shall open the path before the sons of the Hungarian nation! No Hungarian future is conceivable with a mass of unemployed people languishing, no Hungarian future can be perceived by creating farm hands out of free Hungarian farmers and vine growers, no Hungarian future is conceivable if foreigners dispose over the assets of the nation. We are the ones who must protect our children. We are the ones who must provide for their future. But we are also the ones who must provide work opportunities for the Hungarian people, because a countless number of things have to be done in this country.

We promise you that if the FKgP wins, we will launch a campaign against unemployment. We will create a situation in which the head of household, the one who is the foundation of his family, will have work and will be able to put bread on his family's table.

It is unacceptable that at a time when the U.S. plans to begin interplanetary travel in the year 2003—a country that was not even discovered when Hungary had already reached a top position in Europe, and when that peak also represented a worldwide achievement—Hungary is unable to provide livelihood and a dignified human life to the Hungarian people.

For this reason, I state: I regard all those who do not provide dignified, human living conditions to the Hungarian people as my sworn enemies.

So many of our ancestors could not have died and worked over the centuries, and the nation cannot have sustained itself for 1,100 years just to permit a few liberals to take possession of the country. Take note: Our homeland is not for sale, it will not be sold to anyone. Neither Gyula Horn nor Ivan Peto may acquire it. This homeland belongs to Hungarians, and we will secure it through peaceful means as of now, for Hungarians.

No one should force us, and we should not have to feel compelled to call attention to unconstitutional proceedings. I feel obliged to do so, however, because what is presently going on in the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic is tantamount to a total disregard of the will of the Hungarian people. How can anyone say that the Hungarian people have no right to recall the parliament of the Hungarian Republic? This is unacceptable in our view, because we claim: The people are entitled to have a right not only to elect National Assembly representatives to parliament, but we must also be entitled to have a right to recall representatives who proved themselves to be unworthy to serve as National Assembly representatives.

It is unfortunate that FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] achieved this Constitutional Court decision, an organization that endeavors to create a image of having given up its liberalism and having joined the conservative national forces.

I warn you Hungarians! The media suppress our words, the media are not willing to present the facts. I just heard that they lied about the more than 100,000 people gathered here and acknowledged the presence of only a few thousand. I remind you that they estimated the number of persons participating in the physicians', health care workers' demonstration—about 0.1 percent of the number of people gathered at the present demonstration—as 60,000. I then ask, as long as it can happen in Hun-

gary that we are unable to make factual statements in public either in print, or the electronic media, do I have the right to request you, the way the communists had defamed us for decades—they thought that we would pursue whispering propaganda—well, I am asking you now to acknowledge that in retrospect the communists were correct and to convey by way of whispering propaganda from mouth to mouth that the Hungarian people have risen in Budapest and that very many people also arrived from the countryside to reinforce us, to attest as delegates to the Hungarian resurrection.

On the eve of our national holiday, I will now recall to you the magnificent fighting bird of the Hungarian people, a bird that once enabled the conquering of the present territory of our homeland. In those days the Hungarians ceaselessly pounced on their enemies from every direction without stopping. Well, let us do the same now, let the entire nation change from defensive politics to the offensive. Let us pounce on the liberal bolsheviks each and every day. Let us reveal to the Hungarian public the things they have the audacity to do, the way they dare to pilfer the Hungarian national assets. I will only give one warning to those who deviate from the path of constitutionality: The FKgP will establish order in this country if it wins the elections.

We will establish order and we will not permit "[the Virgin] Mary's Land" to be perverted into a country of thieves and robbers. We will protect this country from moral slough and corruption. We will teach a lesson on how to respect the rights of the Hungarian people to those who like thieves or robbers take away the property of people who have worked hard for it, to those who believe that a family must work day and night in order to buy a car while another one steals the car and has a Mafioso take it across the border.

What justly follows the actions of the banker thieves will not be counted in the form of an abundance of forints. Consistent with the laws of a constitutional state, prison will be the place of all those who participated in stealing the nation's assets. Prison is the place where they should account for their heinous deeds.

I also have a message for those gathered in Mafioso groups who feel that they can kill, for those who feel that they can kill priests and young girls, and can torture to death single individuals in order to extort a few thousand forints they have saved, for those who are guided by their unnatural inclinations and dare to touch our healthy children, for those who dare to turn their murderous weapons on Hungarian people, and for those who envision an opportunity to intimidate the Hungarian people by committing murder. The FKgP will reinstate the death penalty and will establish order if it succeeds

in the elections! We cannot permit this country to be engulfed in a moral slough, we must not permit crime waves to gain the upper hand.

We do not want to hurt anyone, moreover, I can say this in advance, at this point already: if the FKgP wins the elections, it will be able to provide an opportunity for everyone to pursue a decent livelihood, and we will proclaim amnesty on the day of our victory. But anyone who violates the amnesty provisions will be put to death.

And we feel that the FKgP should exert all its energy to put our economy in order. It is unacceptable for farmers and vine growers to live in the future the way they do today on the most fertile land in the world, and in the most wonderful climate. It is unacceptable if middlemen and speculators reap the fruits of the hard work of Hungarian people. We promise not to touch ownership rights to lands of those who have received land in exchange for other land taken away a long time ago of course, and who work for the future of the Hungarian people by decently cultivating that land. But the transactions of those, who in the process of plundering the Hungarian people stole the land of the Hungarian people in the framework of speculative buy-ups, who laid their hands on more land than permitted by law, will be regarded as illegal transactions, as transactions violating existing laws in force, will be declared null and void, and the lands thus acquired will be redistributed to those who need that land. In doing so, we will give no consideration to membership in the present government, to individuals who forgot to respect the laws, we will give no consideration to find out who from among the people surrounding the president of the Republic had forgotten about the obligation to abide by our laws.

We feel that it is very important to declare: We believe in the legal provision which prohibited the acquisition of arable land ownership by foreign citizens.

Hungarians! More than two-thirds of the area of this country has been taken away. If we now permit foreigners to take hold of our arable lands, I ask: If they can take away our lands, after they have already taken away our factories, our banks and everything else this country once had, what is left to give this country the Hungarian character? We will preserve this country as a Hungarian country! For this reason, I declare that all foreigners who acquired arable land by frustrating our laws, are sworn enemies of our homeland, and we will regard their business transactions as null and void, just the same as the transactions of speculators.

We will not view idly the disappearance of 70 percent of the national assets either. We do not want to have disorder in this country, but we expect those who laid

their hands on significant values owned by this nation—regardless of the legal nuances that permitted them to do so—we expect everyone to adapt to Hungarian society by returning part of what they have taken away from this nation. We also want to establish order regarding privatization irregularities, and claim that the uplifting of the nation must be ensured. The FKgP proclaims that every citizen of this country must become propertied, because ownership is the greatest force that sustains the nation.

Gyula Horn was unable to memorize the words he wanted to quote from the FKgP's alternative economic program, in vain did he hold a piece of paper in his trembling hands, a piece of paper that contained words—written by others—he was supposed to read out loud. I will now repeat those words from memory and present these ideas to the Hungarian people in an undistorted form.

Hungarians! The forces that sustain this nation are not the script writers who sit around in the coffee houses of Budapest, the people who are Hungarians on paper only, according to the vital records. Instead, the sustaining forces emanate from the farming and vine-growing Hungarian people, first and foremost from Hungarian people who have their origins in the Hungarian countryside and small settlements, people who always protected their lands, and always defended the nation. It is worth recalling that whenever the nation found itself in trouble, and whenever the bloody sword was carried around, the common man never regretted sacrificing his life for the nation. For this reason, we believe that it was this spirit that sustained the Hungarian people in the Carpathian basin for 1,100 years. And we claim that this mentality must now be rewarded!

Appropriate living conditions must be established for the Hungarian nation so that no family goes to sleep worrying whether the rent, the heating, or the electric bill can be paid the next day, and whether there is enough food at home to pack for their child a snack when he goes to school. It is unacceptable that those who betray the nation have an abundance of goods, while those who sustain the nation must vegetate below the subsistence level.

We believe that decent living conditions must be provided to the Hungarian nation as a whole, but to do so we must, above all, provide work places, and in order to establish work places, we must place the economy on a growth course. But this must not be accomplished by causing proceeds yielded by the squandering of our national assets to disappear as part of confusing interest payment transactions which cannot be traced, and over which the Hungarian people are not entitled to exercise

any control because of an asserted bank secrecy. It is interesting that legal provisions exist for initiating legal proceedings against anyone of you—if you still have a work place—if at your work place you forget to take out something from your pocket and forget to leave it behind. In contrast, no legal proceeding can be initiated, no opportunity exists under the law against those who remove billions from the Hungarian nation. This cannot be true! The plunderers of the Hungarian nation hide behind this, claiming that a legal loophole exists because the law does not provide an opportunity to initiate proceedings.

We, on the other hand, claim that those in power today do not even intend to take action against the thieves and robbers, we claim that this is the way they want to plunder the Hungarian nation.

Whenever the rights of the Hungarian people are at issue, they say that it would be unconstitutional for the people to have any rights, but everything is permissible whenever their own rights are at issue. Consider this: You elected the six parties seated in parliament to the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic in vain, the six parties that form the parliament. Some people—I will name them: Ivan Szabo, Imre Konya and others—believe that they can play a trick on the Hungarian people, by entering the church as Catholics, and leaving the church as Calvinists. We, on the other hand, claim that these people are neither Catholics nor Calvinists, instead they are pagans to whom the rights of the Hungarian nation mean nothing. What they want is unacceptable: to establish a new party to be seated in parliament without elections, thus frustrating the will of the electorate.

What sense do elections make if in retrospect anyone is allowed to say that he is not interested in the election results, and that he will seat another party in parliament. We believe that Imre Konya and his associates should resign their mandates, and return their mandates to the Hungarian people. This would be the most honorable thing to do, rather than trying to legitimize illegitimate political parties by collaborating with the liberal-communists with the support of a majority of the government.

Speaking of parliament, we must recognize that the direction in which the National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic proceeds is unacceptable. It is unacceptable that narrow group interests supersede the interests of Hungarian society. It is unacceptable that Zoltan Gal, the president of parliament thinks that, despite the nonpartisan character of the presidency, he is permitted to continuously and severely discriminate against the FKgP in general, and against its leading personalities,

front line spokesmen in particular. It is unacceptable that one yardstick is used to measure the needs of the people and another as pertains to the National Assembly. The FKgP promises to establish order also in this regard, if it wins the elections. In our view, the leadership has no right to hide behind bodyguards; anyone who does not dare to accept the responsibility that flows from leading the state must agree to appear before the Hungarian people from time to time—not with bodyguards, but alone—to account for his conduct. Such persons should not step out of a state-owned car, instead they should mingle with the people and live the lives of the people. If the FKgP wins the elections, it will establish conditions of this kind.

But we do not want to wait endlessly for the elections. We claim that in a democratic constitutional state it is appropriate to use popular referendums as a yardstick, which provide an opportunity for the initiators of the popular referendum to convey a sense to the people as to whether or not they want to reaffirm the results of an earlier election. At issue is the fact that Gyula Horn's people received 1.5 million votes in the elections. As a result of these votes they mislead the Hungarian people: They received such an immeasurably large number of votes because they promised to eliminate the arbitrary enforcement of laws, to ensure that bread is sold for 3.60 forints, to preserve the purchasing power of pensions, and to provide work places for the populace.

What did they do instead? They sold out the interests of the nation and transferred strategic industry branches to foreigners. In case you have not yet heard, I am calling your attention to foreigners to whom they handed over strategic industry branches by prescribing a mandatory 18-percent price increase effective in March, and by permitting them to make further price increases at their discretion beginning in October. These foreigners have already announced that next year they want to introduce an additional 40-percent increase in the fees for services provided by the strategic industry branches. In response to this I ask: For how long can the nervous system of the Hungarian people be squeezed, for how long can the Hungarian people be robbed, and where does treason begin and at what point does it become the duty of state leaders to confront treason?

It is the position of the FKgP that there must be a Hungarian force that defends the Hungarian people. I remind you that the FKgP was established 88 years ago because the Hungarian people were tormented and a force was needed to defend the people from its tormentors. We renewed ourselves in 1930 in the framework of the Bekesi program because at that time the global economic crisis tormented the Hungarian people. Hungary experienced an unprecedented degree

of misery at the time, and there was a need for the FKgP to take a stand against misery. And in 1945, when Hungary was reduced to dust, the Hungarian people, and primarily you, the people of Budapest who appeared here today in large numbers, voted confidence in the FKgP. We received more than 50 percent of the votes cast in elections held in Budapest. And then, in national elections, the countryside—the voter base of the Smallholders Party—fully supported the Smallholders Party with 57.7 percent of the votes cast.

I will now say this: We need an even higher degree of cooperation! There is an even greater need today for the Hungarian people to be able to act united in order to secure their future than there was in 1945. I ask you to ponder whether my statements contained anything that was not true, because if that was the case, why was it that when the Nazis occupied Hungary during the night of 19 March 1944, the first thing on their agenda for the next day, 20 March, was for Ambassador Wessenmayer to pay a visit to Interior Minister Keresztes-Fischer in broad daylight to demand that he ban the FKgP. They made this demand because they were well aware of the fact that the FKgP was the only existing national force that would never abandon the Hungarian people. Just think of the Bekesi program in which we proclaimed opposition to the Trianon disgrace, or think of our opposition to the Ukrainian-Hungarian Basic Treaty, in which the previous government betrayed Hungarian interests by disregarding the fact that the Hungarians of the Lower Carpathian region had already won autonomy for themselves in a popular referendum, a power never before seen....

Smallholders Party National Assembly representatives were reviled in vain, we were punched with fists in vain when we stood up for being Hungarian, and in vain did they shout profanities in our face, because we stood firmly and we confronted the traitors. And what happened when the Slovak-Hungarian Basic Agreement came about? Once again, only the Smallholders Party adopted a position according to which one could not use the neutral character of abstaining in order to pretend that National Assembly representatives have nothing to do with the Hungarian people. We did so when FIDESZ, the MDF, and regrettably, the Christian Democratic People's Party uniformly recommended that their representatives abstain from voting. We, on the other hand, questioned where Hungary would be, had Chieftain Arpad abstained, or had Eger Castle Captain Istvan Dobo abstained when he looked at 150,000 Turks. Or, where would Hungary be, if Ilona Zrinyi had abstained, or if Ferenc Rakoczi II. or Lajos Kossuth had abstained, or if the heroes of 1956 had abstained. I am referring to those teenagers, the children who sacrificed

their precious, innocent lives with gasoline-filled bottles in hand fighting Soviet tanks, in order to destroy the Satan's empire, the terrible tanks that attacked us.

Speaking of the heroes of 1956, those innocent children, we must also say that you must not betray the children of 1956, either, and you must not betray those unarmed Hungarians concerned about their country, who were shot to death on this square in a disgraceful manner by machine guns mounted on the roof of the Ministry of Agriculture, and by Soviet tanks. And just as the FKgP stood up against the disgraceful Slovak-Hungarian Basic Agreement, this stand also obligates the Hungarian people: you, too, should stand up with the FKgP and with its allied forces, which consistently fight for rescuing the Hungarian people!

What we have to say is this: We prepared a program, a nation-saving program, a program for uplifting the Hungarian people. We will implement this program with every means available, at any price, and we will quickly uplift the Hungarian people. All conditions for implementing this program exist, but we need the unbroken support of the Hungarian people to be able to take unified action against those who destroy the nation. Our starting point is that in 1945, during a short two-year period, the FKgP was able to put Hungary back on its feet, even though the world's best economists, western economists claimed that Hungary would not be back on its feet even at the millennium. But the FKgP not only put the Hungarian people back on its feet, it also launched an unprecedented developmental process.

I also want to remind you that the FKgP was capable of introducing the forint on 1 August 1946, when the milpengo [inflationary currency] pushed the Hungarian people into the mud. In vain did Tamas Bauer utter rolling "r's" in disbelief, claiming that they, too, could have accomplished that, the truth is that whatever they proclaimed about themselves was accomplished by the FKgP. Because we knew and we dared, while they hid behind the skirt of Bolshevism, even though in parliament they uttered militant anticommunist slogans....

But we must pour clean water into the glass, at last. Today the FKgP has 70,000 members and more than 2,000 basic organizations. This force must grow now, so that a Smallholders Party unit exists in every settlement. On the eve of this holiday, I am calling upon settlements which have not yet formed Smallholders Party organizations, to do so, so that a Smallholders force can exist on election day to prevent bolshevik-liberal machinations from hindering the defense of the Hungarian people. We believe that the patience of the Hungarian people has run out!

We do not want to wait until 1998, we do not want to see Hungarian people herded into a corral whose chief characteristics are foreign indebtedness, the selling out of arable land, the squandering of national assets, and unemployment. We assert that we must do away with unemployment, that we must strive to eliminate unemployment because we are obligated to do so by our watchword "God-Country-Family." But we also claim that in order to make this country flourish, we must produce, the country must grow, and we must build roads and not only highways. They should realize that people of no less importance than we are also live in distant farms! For the homeland, they provide proof that the Hungarian nation can be continuously sustained, and we must build service roads for them, too, we once again must create an industry for ourselves, and we once again must establish everything that leads to the flourishing of the country. We must not rest as long as the livelihood of even one person is endangered.

We must once again create a situation in which it is worthwhile to be Hungarian, not only within the borders of our homeland, but also outside the borders. To accomplish this we need huge and rapid economic development, as well as another kind of development based on Hungarian consciousness. We find it extremely important to provide opportunities for youth. We have already developed a youth program which enables Hungarian children to receive continuing education starting with village schools and extending to the very end of competing universities. Do not forget that beginning in 1986 only the liberal children were allowed to study; they were permitted to go to the West with Soros and other scholarships, and they were the ones who learned languages, then returned to Hungary. Today, as bank presidents and bank managers earning several million forints, they arrogantly reject credit applications for housing construction or enterprising, submitted by Hungarians.

We believe that the Hungarian people have a natural right to housing, to work places, and to continuing education, and that not only the liberal minority is entitled to exercise this right. We will ensure, we will fight for and win chances for the furtherance of the Hungarian people. But in order to do so we must rid ourselves of liberal-bolshevism, and we must see what the Hungarian nation is able to do.

And now, toward the end of my speech, allow me to refer to the fact that the Hungarian people are one of the most outstanding people on Earth. Moreover, if President Clinton could say that American soldiers were the best soldiers in the world, and if all those who worked for the television agreed with that statement, why should we not be able to claim on the same

basis that we know that Hungary provides today the highest number and the best mathematicians for the world in relation to the number of Hungarians. We are a greater power in mathematics than the U.S.! Or we should ponder whether the U.S. could have created the atomic and the hydrogen bombs had it not been for Hungarian scientists, who implemented this wonderful, huge human and intellectual effort, which, unfortunately, also brought much danger upon humanity. Or could they have reached the moon, had there been no Hungarian scientists at NASA? They were dealing with leading edge science—including the lunar module, and they were all Hungarians. These scientists provided help to the largest country in the world, regarded as the most outstanding country in the world, so that this country can lead the world and can launch its interplanetary program in the year 2002. And then I ask: Is it not Hungary that gave the world the largest number of Nobel prize winning scientists (if calculated on a per capita basis)? Indeed, we are the ones who provided the largest number of Nobel prize winning scientists. We contributed more scientists to the world than the U.S. and the Soviet successor states combined. I use this as my starting point when thinking about the future of the Hungarian people, when I fight to once again be able to uplift the Hungarian people to unprecedented heights, if the wonderful things I said are true—and they are true to the last word, consider the fact that we, this tiny Hungary, this nation, contributed to the world the inventors of the largest number of significant, registered inventions. And think about the fact that to date we are the ones who contribute (on a per capita basis the largest number of) winners on all youth and intellectual competitions. In computer contests we are the ones who contribute the winners to the world; from the standpoint of intellectual products, Hungary is at the peak of the world.

I also believe that no nation is more diligent than Hungary. I know some peasants who, in 1945, harnessed themselves into the yoke and their wives held the plough while cultivating the land. Later on these people were chased away from their lands, they were driven to factories, and now those factories were sold from above their heads and were given to foreigners. Well, the Smallholders Party responds to this by saying no and a thousand times no!

We say what our ancestors said in 1948: "No, no, never!" When I say "no, no, never," I also say that I will never bow my head to the liberal-bolshevik power which betrays the interests of the Hungarian people, and I will never recognize the Horn government whose policies ruin the nation, as having a right to exist in the leadership of Hungary. For this reason, I call upon

you, Hungarians present at this meeting. Under the arcades of the Ministry of Agriculture you will find petitions demanding the resignation of Gyula Horn, the dissolution of the National Assembly, and the calling of new elections. You should sign these petitions. We believe and proclaim that in a constitutional state, if more people request the retreat, the resignation of a person who was elected by fewer persons than the number of persons seeking his recall, that person has a duty to depart. But if they do not depart, the FKgP will show their way to the door and out! What we have to say is this: Gyula Horn and your government, the door is open, leave! What we have to say is this: Let the Hungarian people enter through the door which you have kept closed to us so far! What we have to say is this: The new millennium must also arrive for the Hungarian people, and not only for a small group of bankers. What we have to say is this: The bolshevist-liberal ideology is alien to the Hungarian people, our task is to continue with our 1,100-year-old Hungarian character, and to uplift the Hungarian people. And what we have to say is this: Gyula Horn cannot disregard a large multitude like this demanding his resignation. This is why I ask you, to let Gyula Horn and his bootlickers hear: "Resign Horn!" (The multitude and Chairman Torgyan repeatedly recite this demand.)

And I ask you to recite with me: "The liberal-bolshevist government shall leave!" (The multitude, together with Chairman Torgyan recites this repeatedly.)

And allow me to announce on behalf of the Smallholders Party that as soon as the signatures are gathered, in all the counties in which we have more signatures than the number of votes cast for the election of Gyula Horn, we will ceremoniously announce that Gyula Horn and his government have failed, that in that county Gyula Horn and his government place themselves outside the authority of the constitution, unless they resign. For this reason, we find it very important that each county in competition with others begin to accumulate a mass of signatures forcing Gyula Horn to resign. We will present the results of the signature campaign to ambassadors, and thereafter to the House and to the public nationwide in order to prove to the country and the world that Gyula Horn and his reign have ceased. And if Gyula Horn fails to understand the message that I am sending to him from here, we will multiply the multitude numbering in excess of 100,000 present at this rally. And then we will chase him away from his place with a multitude numbering half a million persons! Gyula Horn should not wait for this to happen! We will not permit the destruction of Hungary!

At the threshold of the third millennium, we do not permit Hungary to suffer the sad fate of a service-

provider nation! What we have to say is this: Our ancestors have guided us to the wonderful Hungarian land blessed by God, a land which they believed had the potential of becoming a Canaan where milk and honey flow.

Well, I say to you that if our Chieftain Arpad and our ancestors sacrificed their lives and blood to conquer this land and felt that we should transform this land into Canaan—and Canaan has not been found ever since—what prevents us, Hungarians, from finding it here, and from making our own Canaan a reality. And in this Canaan, it will not occur that widows, orphans, and children go hungry, are cold, and shed tears.

There can be no circumstance under which our retired people, our mothers, and fathers discuss in the pharmacy which one of them needs their medication more. It is an unacceptable situation when people do not get lifesaving drugs, while the fattened bodies of bankers crave for additional kilograms.

We believe that it is unacceptable that our children are unable to get married, it is unacceptable that they do not have housing or places of work, and it is also unacceptable that the Hungarian people eat the bitter bread of unemployment while trying to step across the threshold of the third millennium.

We believe that our ancestors came to this country while pursuing a white elk, riding on a white horse so that all their enemies ran in every direction and dispersed throughout the world. And we claim that we are worthy successors of Chieftain Arpad, we the smallholders, Christian democrats, the forumist parties inside and outside of parliament, and the members of the 1956 movement, the POFOSZ, and of the National Alliance, all those who labor on uplifting the Hungarian nation. We assert that we will establish a Canaan in which milk and honey flow, for which our Chieftain Arpad brought us here and in which our ancestors believed. We regard the faith of our ancestors as binding from our point of view. In that case, if we believe in our ancestors, we also believe in the resurrection of Hungary, and then, let us establish a path which leads us to heights never before seen, to the evolving strength of the wonderfully talented Hungarian people. For this reason, permit me to conclude my speech by saying:

Hungarians! Our ancestors, our mothers and fathers would turn over in their graves if they knew that we permitted the liberal-bolsheviks to sell out our nation, to lose our country. To which I say: Let them perish, and long live the country, let us uplift the country! Set to victory!

Thank you for listening to me. And now I ask you to recite together: Horn shall leave! Let him hear! Horn shall leave! (The multitude and Chairman Torgyan repeatedly recite these exclamations.) Long live Hungary! (Repeated several times.)

And now, before I ask that we all sing the National Anthem, and to close this evening with that, permit me to say that I do not see much sense in having a live chain, because the live chain has entirely surrounded the parliament building. And there would be no possibility to descend down there in the darkness. But please do not pass by the signature sheets without affixing your mark, your personal identification mark, because a huge multitude has gathered here, and believe me, it would be a big mistake not to take advantage of its mobilizing force. Just another thought: Believe me that today's mass demonstration is going to create a huge impact, because today the Hungarian people and the people of Budapest were able to demonstrate the kind of force they could muster in response to a single word uttered by the FKGP. It is no secret, we could have brought up several hundreds of thousand of people from the countryside if we wanted to and we could have half

a million people here today. But if we feel that Gyula Horn is forcing us to do so, we will move a multitude to Budapest a multitude like that, and the multitudes from both the countryside and Budapest will jointly sweep him away. The way I see it, this huge crowd attested today to the fact that this nation, united, does not want to lose its country.

So then, let us attest to our faith by singing the National Anthem. We do not need recorded music, but if you think so, we will be glad to provide it, and let us sing our National Anthem and thereafter please see the signature collectors.

Thank you for being here!

I thank all those who took upon themselves the huge burden of coming here from the countryside by foot, risking snow, rain, and icy roads, because in more than one settlement in the countryside, we find weather like that, and yet they appeared here.

Thank you! Strength is in unity and I feel happiness in my heart for being able to see this unity and strength, for being alive today! Set to Victory! (National Anthem)

B-H: Expected U.S. Ultimatum to 'Megalomaniac' Milosevic Viewed

*LD1507112096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
0852 GMT 15 Jul 96*

[Commentary by SRNA's London correspondent Radomir Sekulovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 15 Jul (SRNA)—The visit to Belgrade by Richard Holbrooke, chief U.S. negotiator for former Bosnia, for talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will usher in a new wave of fascist abuse of the Serb people and their interests.

Holbrooke has been sent by President Clinton personally to tell Milosevic that he must arrest Dr. Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic if he wants to avert a Hague tribunal investigation into his responsibility for what the international community and Washington see as "Serb crimes of genocide in former Bosnia."

SRNA has learned from a senior British Foreign Office official that this time Milosevic will have to hear from Holbrooke that "his behavior contravenes what he promised in Dayton." NATO is still convinced that Milosevic can do that job "instead of putting at risk the valuable lives of American soldiers."

Holbrooke is the only international negotiator who openly threatened Milosevic; who was not sanctioned when he interrupted him several times during talks at the Serbian presidency; and who said, with no regard for his position, that "Milosevic's remarks are nonsense."

If Milosevic had any dignity at all, he would not allow Holbrooke to enter Serbia after his demands that "Milosevic should stop talking nonsense about Serbian history." It is clear from the footage of the latest talks between Holbrooke and Milosevic that Holbrooke humiliated Milosevic by treating him as his lowest clerk.

It is up to the Serbian president's good taste and dignity if he likes his power so much that he is prepared to hold talks for the umpteenth time with those who profoundly despise him and use him, but the Serb people should tell Milosevic and Holbrooke once and for all that the Serbs are not their doormat.

If the Serbs are not capable of doing this, they deserve to remain a bargaining chip for the megalomaniac from Dedinje [Belgrade area where Milosevic lives], who has been reduced from theorizing about a great Serbian state to begging foreign powers to keep him in power.

The Americans say that "the Bosnian people" (Muslims) find it beneath their dignity to take part in the elections on 14 September unless Karadzic and Mladic are arrested by then. The Americans are not at all interested in whether the Serbs have any concept of dignity or

whether that same feeling could force them to boycott something or someone.

If the Serbs had any dignity, they would first of all boycott the Americans, and together with them boycott the curse named Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade in the same way in which they are boycotting the "kangaroo" international court in The Hague. Instead of that, Milosevic is waiting to welcome Holbrooke in the belief that "Mr. American will be merciful."

However, Clinton did not send Holbrooke to Belgrade to appease Milosevic, but to deliver a new ultimatum to him.

That ultimatum has already been spelled out in different words by French Defense Minister Charles Millon, who said last night that "if only NATO was given a UN mandate, the feasibility of the arrest of Karadzic and Mladic would be very easy."

B-H: TANJUG Comments on Holbrooke's Balkan Trip

*LD1407163496 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1622 GMT 14 Jul 96*

[By Borislav Lalic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, July 14 (TANJUG)—Former U.S. peace negotiator Richard Holbrooke returns to the Balkans on Monday as the Clinton administration's special envoy to speed along the peace process.

During his visits to Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, Holbrooke will try to remove some flies in the ointment of the peace process, the chief among them certainly being the "Karadzic affair."

The Dayton process has hit snags also in the forms of the (non)functioning of the Muslim-Croat Federation, Bosnia's slow economic recovery and a hitch in the implementation of the chief idea—the creation of a single, multi-ethnic Bosnian state.

The decision to call elections in Bosnia for Sept. 14, taken some weeks ago, has put into the forefront the question of removing Radovan Karadzic from power and from political life.

Certain political circles and media in the United States are so rabid in their advocacy of this, that they are demanding that the administration reimpose economic sanctions on the Bosnian Serbs and on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

An alternative, in their view, would be to give the NATO-led peace force in Bosnia the mandate to hunt down and arrest war crime suspects, including Karadzic.

As for reimposing the sanctions, the Clinton administration believes the move would accomplish little, while risking a lot, including the Dayton peace accord itself.

To enlarge the mandate of the peace force to include the duties of judicial police as sought by the Hague-based war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia is out of the question, too, according to sources close to the administration.

U.S. political and military leaders still believe that the peace troops in the Balkans should do what they have been sent there to do, viz. keep the peace, and not traipse all over Bosnia hunting down indicted war criminals.

Information was not immediately available in Washington on Sunday if Holbrooke's return to the Balkans means his return to diplomacy, or if he is only temporarily "filling in" for the current U.S. envoy to the Balkans, John Kornblum.

A fortnight ago, Kornblum was officially confirmed in Holbrooke's former position as assistant secretary of state.

B-H: Commentary Sees Plavsic as Karadzic's Successor

*AU1407200996 Pale JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian
6 Jul 96 pp 4-5*

[Commentary by Kolja Besarovic: "Whatever the People Say"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Biljana Plavsic will be the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] candidate for president of the Serb Republic [RS] in the upcoming September elections, while Radovan Karadzic will only be performing party duties as head of the SDS. This is, without a doubt, the most consequential decision that was made at the several-day-long session of the Main Committee of the SDS, which also verified the candidates for the other most important state functions.

The decisions made at the plenary meeting of the Main Committee of the SDS, particularly the decision on the candidacy of Biljana Plavsic and the withdrawal of Radovan Karadzic, are not a major surprise, but that does not mean that they were reached easily, and that perhaps there were no other personnel solutions until the very last moment. Actually, we must keep in mind that the final act (if we can call it that) of choosing the presidential candidate of the SDS was taking place in an atmosphere characterized by two parallel, or more precisely, two entirely opposite processes.

On the one hand, pressure was stepped up from the so-called international community and official Belgrade, which have unconditionally demanded Karadzic's "ex-

press" resignation (and, of course, withdrawal from his renewed candidacy for presidential office), while on the other hand, in keeping with the disposition of the people, the assembly of the SDS and its Main Committee had taken the view that Karadzic should again be nominated for the highest state function, regardless of the risks. Since it was obvious that these two opposite views were physically impossible to reconcile, it was only a question of time when Karadzic (after consulting with his closest aides and members of the Main Committee of the SDS) would break the deadlock and announce his definite decision.

Threats

It is possible that the president of the RS had brought his definite decision on withdrawing from the elections when he had already transferred his authority to Biljana Plavsic, in keeping with Article 3 of the 15th Amendment of the Constitution of the RS which says that when the head of state is temporarily unable to carry out his function, his duties are assumed by the vice president. Again, that is possible, although not necessarily (ultimately that is not too important), particularly after the reaction of some world leaders, who described Karadzic's move as "unsatisfactory" and "insufficient." As distinct from Carl Bildt, and most probably almost all the European powers that were, it seems, prepared to honor the provisions of the Dayton agreement and accept Karadzic's withdrawal from public functions, presently two of the world's most powerful factors, and particularly the one in Washington, have quickly expressed their disagreement with this standpoint, flinging, at the same time, a new threat (not to say ultimatum) at the RS.

In the "best" traditions of Hitler's extortion diplomacy, which essentially means gradually strangling one's victims by constantly exacting more and more unacceptable demands, as its legitimate devotee official Washington has threatened that unless Karadzic also withdraws from his function as party chairman, "not only will the sanctions against the RS be reimposed," but in addition the "participation of the SDS in the elections would be prevented." In view of that, some new assumptions have been made that this new provocation could additionally complicate the situation, more precisely, that it could drive Karadzic to respond to such a "broad interpretation" of the provisions of the Dayton agreement by announcing a last-moment decision to run in the elections.

However, this did not happen, which does not mean, of course, that we should make any hasty conclusions as to how the story about the American (and German) rejection of Karadzic's presidential party function has

been concluded. On the contrary, based on the past behavior of western factors, it is possible to assume that not only America and Germany, but perhaps the remaining Europeans (who have, albeit insufficiently, followed Washington in the Yugoslav crisis) will press this issue, which in case of escalated pressure, and, perhaps, an administrative attempt to prevent the SDS from taking part in the elections, could lead to serious consequences, including the total breakdown of the Dayton agreement.

Why do the Americans insist so much on (also) removing Karadzic from the position of chairman of the Serb Democratic Party? It is simply because they are fully aware, as are all the other involved factors, that even after his withdrawal, Karadzic will still retain his authority and influence as unmistakably the most respected political figure in the RS, and more precisely, to use an expression the Americans like to use, the Bosnian Serb leader. Accordingly, it is almost certain that if the SDS wins in the elections, which even American intelligence analysts forecast, Karadzic would not only be consulted on important decisions, but his word would be decisive. Proof that formal state function is not always the most essential indication of a person's political influence can be seen in the examples of the undisputed Chinese leader Deng Xiao Ping (who for some years now is only the chairman of the local bridge club), or Joseph Stalin (who, except during the war, had exclusively been the general secretary of the party), having in mind, of course, the objective differences, both in the system (one-party communism), and in the position of these powerful countries in relation to the RS.

Lies

Because of all the above it seems to us that not only had Western politicians hastened to bring about a conclusion, but also Belgrade politicians, as well as media circles that have recently been leering over the "political demise of Radovan Karadzic." All of them, of course, are entitled to their own political preferences, assessments, and desires, but it is entirely different when, for reasons like this, or to sell their newspapers better, for months (and even years) a relentless campaign is conducted, full of insults and insinuations. Their false claims that "Radovan Karadzic will sacrifice the interests of the people of the Serb Republic" for his own personal gain, or sensational discoveries (published recently by a popular Belgrade weekly, quoting reliable and confidential sources from the RS "top") "that Radovan Karadzic, giving his support to Biljana Plavsic in the struggle for presidential succession, has clashed with Aleksa Buha and Momcilo Krajisnik," have been unrelentingly contradicted by the

events that followed, although such stories do succeed in achieving a certain negative effect, particularly in uninformed readers in Yugoslavia.

We do not know whether the cutting edge of their attacks will now be pointed at some other leaders in the RS (perhaps, Biljana Plavsic, in view of her new function). Is it necessary to remind our readers that Radovan Karadzic became the leader of the Serb Democratic Party almost accidentally, in a situation when some other people, much more prominent at the time, simply did not want to accept that uncertain and hazardous job. Would it do any good to also remind his critics that the man they accuse of being covetous for power had insisted in the beginning that he should only be the temporary SDS chairman, until a more propitious candidate was found? Unfortunately, or better yet, fortunately for the Serb people, such a candidate (at least at the time) never appeared, and so Radovan Karadzic—having in the meantime gained the sympathy and support of the unorganized Serbs—embarked with his associates on a long and difficult, at first political, and later military struggle, for the liberation of the Serb nation west of the Drina river. This struggle was to result in a false indictment against him from The Hague, an indictment made by international potentates, but it was also to create a myth out of him, and not only among the Serbs in the RS. Of course Radovan Karadzic had made mistakes, too, during the last few years, as every other living human being and statesman. Only time will tell what his mistakes were and to what extent things would have been different, better, for the Serbs, had he not made them. One thing is certain, in order to be objective, one should bear in mind that Radovan Karadzic and his associates not only led in the struggle against the most powerful international political and military machine (not to mention the Muslims and Croats), but also all became politically mature in the process, evolving from inexperienced politicians and amateurs into qualified statesmen.

And although the voters will give the final word regarding the success of these elections, we are under the impression that the SDS has chosen presently the most adequate candidates for the most responsible state functions. In the absence of Radovan Karadzic, Biljana Plavsic is simply the most charismatic figure in the RS leadership, a person who, owing to her courage, firm national principles, and personal honesty, can get the greatest number of votes in all parts of the country. She has also demonstrated, particularly during her recent talks with Carl Bildt, that in spite of all contrary claims, she can be very rational, and diplomatically shrewd, but at the same time she can also be a tough negotiator. We believe that Momcilo Krajisnik is also a good choice for

the joint presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A man who had once successfully steered the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina and taken part in many negotiations will really be hard to fool, and we should hope that one day he will return to his "home base" and report that he has successfully carried out his task, because Bosnia-Herzegovina no longer exists.

B-H: Plavsic: Karadzic Will Never Be Extradited to Hague

AU1407204796 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 14 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Acting Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic in a television interview today assured the Serb people that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic would never be extradited to the Hague tribunal. Plavsic also denied the existence of mass graves around Srebrenica. She only said that fierce battles raged in the area.

B-H: Hague Retracts Suggestion of Milosevic-Karadzic Link

AU1307173796 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic 'Erased' From Statement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Judge Harry Claude Jorda of the Hague international tribunal did not read to journalists the last passage of the tribunal's statement on the international warrant for Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and military commander General Ratko Mladic, which pointed at Karadzic's links with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The BETA agency has learned that the tribunal decided to retract this passage from the statement that had been distributed to journalists earlier in the afternoon.

The passage in question states: "Certain facts suggest the existence of a plan to set up a new state through the use of force, created at the highest Serbian political and military level. Apart from this, a communication between Radovan Karadzic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was discovered in September 1991 in which Milosevic instructs the leader of the Bosnian Serbs to contact Yugoslav Peoples' Army authorities in order to receive arms from storage in order to realize this plan."

The Senate of the International War Crimes Tribunal also called on the prosecutor to examine the possibility of filing an additional bill of indictment for genocide against Karadzic and Mladic.

"The Senate points in particular to the fact that the Serb Republic's failure to arrest Karadzic and Mladic constitutes a violation of the obligations that were assumed by the FRY in the name of the Serb Republic when the Dayton accords were signed. The FRY agreed to guarantee that the Serb Republic would cooperate fully with the tribunal. As the Serb Republic's guarantor, the FRY bears full responsibility for this entity having failed to honor its obligations," the statement adds.

"Certain methods applied in the realization of the project of ethnic cleansing suggest clear premeditation. This explains the large scale of destruction: The number of victims chosen merely on the basis of their belonging to a certain group leads to the conclusion that the intention to destroy this group, or at least a part thereof, did exist," the court's statement says.

B-H: Plavsic Warns of 'Limit' to Serb Concessions

LD1207180596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Jul (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today rejected all accusations by the international community that the Serbs were to blame for the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. She added that they were only defending themselves in order to get their right to self-determination which they had been denied.

Addressing those present at a review of the troops of the 4th Sarajevo Brigade of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army in Pale, Plavsic recalled the founding assembly of the Serb Democratic Party held in the Skenderija sports hall in Sarajevo on 12 July 1990.

"No one dreamed then that the national consolidation of Serbs would provoke such terrible reactions from the Serbs' enemies and that they would treacherously attack us, thus leading to the events which remind us of 1941 and 1945," the vice president said.

She pointed out that the only normal reaction at the time was for the Serbs to defend themselves to avoid a repetition of the tragedies of World War II; that was why the Serb people could not be the aggressor.

"We shall defend ourselves again if they attack us. There is a limit to what concessions we can make for the sake of peace, but let them not make us grovel, because the Serb people have never done this and never will," Plavsic said.

B-H: Plavsic: No Return to Joint Life With Croats, Muslims

AU1407162996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 14 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 14 July (BETA)—Acting Serb Republic President Biljana Plavsic today accused the left-oriented parties in the Serb Republic that by advocating the creation of a joint life with the Croats and the Muslims, they are pursuing "a dangerous policy" that could "lead the Serb people into great difficulties."

"I hope that these parties have little chance of winning anything significant in the elections," Plavsic said on the Radio Kragujevac program "The Hallmark of Time."

Asked to specify which parties she had in mind, Plavsic replied that these were "the parties oriented more to the left, some of them even very distinctly left-oriented," whose leaders were saying that it would be good to restore the joint life with the Muslims and the Croats.

"These are dangerous things. Ultimately history, 1914, the period from 1941 to 1945, and now all these events have shown that this so-called joint life with the Muslims and the Croats eventually results in genocide against the Serbs," the acting Serb Republic president stated.

According to Plavsic, "this is the sole reason why the national parties no longer wish to embark on such projects," and why we insist on the motto "Ours to us, we don't want what belongs to others."

"It was very difficult, especially for the Serbs, to relinquish the idea of Yugoslavism. I know from my own experience how difficult this was, but the reality is such, and nobody has the right to bring the new generations into an uncertain position regarding their existence on these territories, on which the Serbs were living when the Muslims were yet not in our territories, and when there was a very small number of Catholics here," Plavsic said.

B-H: International Police Force Vehicle Blown Up

LD1307144696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 13 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vlasenica, 13 July (SRNA)—A vehicle belonging to the IPTF [International Police Task Force] was destroyed by a bomb in Vlasenica at about 2130 [1930 GMT] last night. The vehicle was parked in front of a house where international policemen are living. This was confirmed to SRNA at the police station in the town.

At the time of the explosion there was no one in the vicinity so there were no casualties, but the car was completely destroyed.

The police station in Vlasenica stresses that an intensive search is under way for the perpetrators of this act.

B-H: Vlasenica Bomb Reported; No Claims of Responsibility

AU1307203596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 13 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla 13 July (BETA)—A spokesman for the International Police Task Force (IPTF) today reported that a UN vehicle had been destroyed in a bomb explosion in Vlasenica, a small town in eastern Bosnia under Serb control.

The explosion, which went off outside the IPTF headquarters last night, damaged another two vehicles and broke some 30 windows in nearby buildings, but none of the UN staff in the headquarters were injured, the IPTF spokesman said.

"We have no idea who planted the bomb. Nobody assumed responsibility," this representative added.

A week ago, NATO forces deployed in Vlasenica were sent to retrieve the tanks that were outside the arms depot in Han Pijesak, where the headquarters of Serb Republic Army Commander Ratko Mladic are situated.

"I am convinced that the Serb police will not discover who is behind the bomb planted in Vlasenica," the IPTF spokesman said, and added: "I wonder if we will ever know, though we are working on it."

B-H: Serb Leader Threatens Election Boycott; Muratovic Responds

LD1407204896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Jul 96

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Aleksa Buha threatened at an election rally in Trebinje yesterday evening that the Serbs will boycott the elections. It is noteworthy that he should again be speaking on behalf of all the Serbs in the Serb entity, ruling out every possibility of the local opposition voicing their opinion.

[Correspondent Verica Kalajdzic] A rally held at the stadium in Trebinje to mark the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] was used by Aleksa Buha to present the policy of the Serb leadership on the uncertain participation of the Serb Democratic Party in the upcoming elections:

[Buha] "Should the SDS be excluded from the elections [changes thought] yesterday we held talks with representatives of the international community and they are still mulling over the whole thing, they are trying to find a way of doing one thing or another—but should the SDS be excluded, then there will practically be no elections for us [applause], i.e., in that case we will organize the elections in the Serb Republic. As for the joint bodies [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], it will not be possible to organize elections because the international community does not want it."

[Correspondent] Here is how Bosnia-Herzegovina officials commented on this statement. [passage omitted]

[Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic] "We have on numerous occasions warned all international players that the Pale regime will do everything to obstruct the elections. They will try to find any reason to prevent the elections taking place, because only that would ensure that they stay in power."

"However, the exclusion of the SDS, which is the only way of giving some level of legality to the elections in the Serb Republic, enables other parties, which number over 20, and they will certainly take part in the elections [sentence as heard]. If the SDS uses force in an attempt to prevent voters from turning out to vote, then their entire leadership may be met with force."

B-H: RS Radicals Advocate 'Unification of All Serb Lands'

AU1307154396

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian at 1840 GMT on 11 July carries an approximately 90-minute elections program, the third in the "Elections '96" series presenting political parties registered for the September elections in the union of the Serb Republic (RS) and the Croat-Muslim Federation.

Vlado Slijepcevic, the host in the Banja Luka Television studio, welcomes his guests, members of the Serb Republic Radical Party [SRS]: Nikola Poplasen, the party president, who heads the lists of candidates for the RS National Assembly; Nikola Spiric, vice president of the SRS Executive Committee and candidate for RS vice president; Svetozar Radulovic, member of the SRS Main Committee and head of the committee members list for Banja Luka; and Dragan Jovanovic, SRS vice president and deputy candidate.

Party President Nikola Poplasen begins by saying "the SRS was formed and registered before the war" but that all of its bodies were formed in March 1993, after the constituent assembly held in Banja Luka. He goes on about the details of the "ramified party structure,"

which he believes is one of the reasons the party has so many supporters. He says much attention is devoted to explaining the party structure and goals to the public, especially through the party newspapers ZAPADNA SRBIJA (WESTERN SERBIA) and VELIKA SRBIJA (GREATER SERBIA).

As for the goals of the Serb Radicals, Poplasen says that "the unification of the Serbs in one state is of historic importance." The party also believes in the need to "change basic economic relations" and open up a "dynamic privatization process." The third most important goal of the SRS refers to the party orientation that "a multiparty, parliamentary system must form the basis of the political system of such a unified Serb state and its parts."

Poplasen says the party is often forced to deny disinformation due to "a tremendous media blockade on the other side of the Drina River" and "media inaccessibility on this side of the Drina River."

Nikola Spiric takes over to explain that the SRS advocates "liberal-capitalist production" because socialism turned out to be "utterly inefficient," and says that the party strives to create an economic atmosphere that would stop people from leaving the country to settle in Western countries. Spiric also calls for a state border between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation, and says that "we must be separated in order not to kill each other."

Svetozar Radulovic talks about the party's social policy, with an emphasis on "the state protecting those who are most at risk," adding that they are aiming toward "free primary health services."

Asked why the party does not have a presidential candidate, Poplasen responds that "an SRS candidate on such a high level would ultimately lead to a rift among the patriots." He adds that they expect that "30 to 40 percent of the votes coming from abroad will be falsified, i.e., Muslim and Croat votes and the red-tinted votes from the other side of the Drina River." Poplasen characterizes the present presidential candidates as "mostly tragicomical," and says they are "either waiters or people who linger around waiters all day long." He concedes that "some of them are indeed taking the Serb interests and Serb national state seriously" but says their orientation is "unacceptable to the SRS."

Nikola Spiric, SRS candidate for vice president, says that he was nominated to "prevent presidential candidates from veering to the left until the borders of the national Serb state are consolidated."

Talking about the Serb Republic in the wake of the elections, Radulovic says it will be "a sovereign, independent, parliamentary, and capitalist country." Jovacic adds that their goal is "the unification of all Serb lands and all Serbs in one Serb state comprising a compact national territory, i.e., Serbia, the Serb Republic, Montenegro, and the Republic of Serb Krajina."

Poplasen takes over to say that "the state elements of the Serb Republic must be strengthened as much as it is allowed by the international military force, being careful not to provoke it." He proceeds that "the Drina River border and that toward Montenegro must grow more porous by the day."

The SRS representatives say they mostly have "no relations with the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Independent State of Croatia," and that they are "not interested" in the relations between the two states, as "they were united around their hatred toward the Serbs."

Most callers had questions for SRS President Poplasen. About coexistence with the Muslims and the Croats in the wake of the elections he says: "The September election constitutes the only chance inherent in the Dayton accords that favors the Serbs. We hope this will legalize the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Serb Republic, as a national state, and the Muslim-Croat Federation. As for coexistence with those who remain in the Serb Republic, they will be national minorities and enjoy all the same rights as minorities in developed countries."

**B-H: Free Elections Network Begins Broadcasting
15 Jul**

*AU1507115796 Hanau NOVA BOSNA
in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 96 p 9*

[ONASA report: Radio Network for Free Elections To Start]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jul (ONASA)—Radio Network for Free Elections (Free Elections Radio Network, FERN) will officially start broadcasting on 15 July. This was stated in an announcement from the mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In conformity with the regulations of the Provisional Electoral Commission (PEC), FERN supports the freedom of expression and the press and guarantees all political parties equal access to program broadcasting.

The entire development and realization of this project will be financed by Switzerland with 1.3 million Swiss francs.

**B-H: Muratovic, Kantor Discuss Aid, Economic
Reconstruction**

*AU1207152596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 96*

[Report by Stevo Latinovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] A high-level U.S. delegation led by Commerce Secretary Mickey Kantor is visiting Sarajevo today. Secretary Kantor and members of the U.S. delegation were received by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Federation President Kresimir Zubak. Minister Kantor also held talks with Hasan Muratovic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the talks they held a joint news conference. Stevo Latinovic reports:

[Latinovic] The official meetings of the two delegations started in Dubrovnik yesterday, where, together with a Croatian delegation, they signed two memoranda of understanding. One of them refers to two highways that link east and west and north and south with Croatia, and via it, with central Europe. Here is what Prime Minister Muratovic said about the signing today:

[Muratovic] Today, we will be signing new agreements on aid from the U.S. Agency for Trade and Development for the implementation of major infrastructural projects and technical assistance in establishing air traffic.

The United States is again proving that it will follow firmly the full implementation of the Dayton agreement. Economic reconstruction represents a crucial stage in the implementation of the Dayton agreement. Bosnia-Herzegovina still needs help, as well as concrete commercial deals. Our country is still not in a position to rely only on commercial deals. It is necessary to keep sending us aid to establish the economic system. Our recovery will occur when the companies that have not been destroyed in the war begin to operate and when our economy receives loans for further work.

Receiving contracts represents the greatest help to our country. This will happen quickly provided that there is constant economic cooperation and provided that our businessmen are given a chance on the world market. We are grateful to the United States for all the changes that have happened here with their help.

[Latinovic] Addressing journalists, Minister Kantor said that he has had very busy morning. First, he held talks with Prime Minister Muratovic in the plane, and then, when he arrived in Sarajevo, with Presidents Izetbegovic and Zubak. The U.S. delegation also includes the representatives of the U.S. Agency for International

Development, the Corporation for Private Investments Abroad, the Agency for Development of Trade, the representatives of 18 U.S. companies, head of one major U.S. foundation, and the mayor of a town that is important for us, the town of Dayton. He then said:

[Begin Kantor recording in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] This economic and commercial development mission is trying to establish new links with Bosnia-Herzegovina, strengthen its economic development, and above all, extend support to peace stimulating economic growth.

Less than year ago, war was raging in Bosnia. Today, we have peace. This peace would have not been possible without the leading role of the U.S. President and the courage and resolution of leaders such as President Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Muratovic, and President Zubak.

Peace, [words indistinct] is to put foundations for the economic and commercial development under the peace process. [end recording]

This afternoon, the U.S. Government and commercial delegation will be holding talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina businessmen.

B-H: Izetbegovic Receives French Defense Minister Millon

LD1407181896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic today received French Defense Minister Charles Millon, who arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina to

visit French soldiers serving with IFOR [Implementation Force] immediately after the march past held in Paris on the occasion of 14 July, the greatest French national holiday.

They discussed continuing efforts in creating conditions for democratic elections in keeping with the Dayton Agreement. President Izetbegovic congratulated the French defense minister on the French Republic's day and said he hoped that friendly relations between the two countries will be broadened.

Present at the talks were Dr. Mirko Pejanovic, member of the presidency, and General Hajrulahovic, member of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

On the occasion of the greatest national holiday of the French Republic, President Izetbegovic extended congratulations to French President Jacques Chirac on behalf of the state bodies and himself. The letter says:

You are celebrating the fall of the Bastille today, which marks the point when your people won their freedom and France the opportunity to build a new state model, which served as an example to many nations in the world. I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude for your support for an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly reflected in the determination you showed in lifting the siege of Sarajevo, and for your contribution to the signing of the Paris Agreement.

With best wishes for your good health, please accept my deepest respects, the letter by President Izetbegovic says.

Croatia: Granic Comments on Talks With EU's Spring

LD1107172296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatia expects negotiations on cooperation with the EU to continue in the autumn, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said, among other things, after his talks with Dick Spring, Irish foreign minister and chairman of the EU Council of Ministers, and EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek. Drazen Korda reports:

[Korda] During the first visit by the new EU chairman, Minister Spring, the main topics of discussion were the peace processes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and relations between Croatia and the EU. In his statement after the meeting, Minister Granic reiterated the support of Croatia for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and timely elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He also said he welcomed the passing of the new federal defense law and new agreements between Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation that are to be signed in Dubrovnik today.

Granic was optimistic in his assessment of the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danube basin and the work of General Jacques Klein, noting the introduction of some elements of the Croatian legal state in the area, such as the payment of pensions. [passage omitted]

Granic pointed out that Croatia was in favor of full cooperation with the Hague tribunal, but he criticized the fact that so far only four persons had been accused of aggression against Croatia and no one for the crimes committed against Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Announcing the passing in September of the Croatian law on the media, prepared with the help of experts of the Council of Europe, and an agreement with the opposition on the appointment of the Zagreb mayor, Minister Granic said:

[Begin Granic recording] As for the Republic of Croatia and its joining the European institutions, we expect that in October a decision will be made on the date of signing of the agreement between Croatia and the Council of Europe on our full membership. We also heard with great pleasure today that negotiations between the EU and the Republic of Croatia on the trade and cooperation agreement will be continued in the autumn. We, naturally, welcome this because our essential aim, as a Mediterranean and Central European country, is to join the European and Atlantic institutions, the institutions that operate within the mentioned regions and to develop good relations with all our neighbors. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croatia: Council of Europe Urges Changes in Amnesty Law

AU1207160896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Council of Europe visited Beli Manastir today. They said that they expected Croatia to make thorough changes in the amnesty law, which is very important for the future and consistent implementation of the Erdut Agreement.

Moreover, the guests said that the Council of Europe would continue to insist that Croatia, on the basis of internationally recognized principles of human rights, comprehensively reexamine and thoroughly change its overall constitutional and legal order, from which, as was stated, discrimination is emitted in a pathologically powerful way against anything that has even the faintest Serb flavor.

It was established that the leading figures in Croatian politics, who bear the syndrome of the past, that is, Ustashaism, are obviously not able and do not want to behave in accordance with the elementary principles of democracy, the standards of modern Europe and the civilized world in general.

Croatia: B-H's Dudakovic Accused of War Crimes in Zadar

AU1207142296 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 7

[Report by R.I.: "Is The Hague Preparing an Accusation for Atif Dudakovic?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Is an indictment being prepared in the Hague for Atif Dudakovic (42), division general of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and commander of the 5th Corps from Bihac, for war crimes committed in the uniform of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] in autumn 1991 against the Croatian population of Zadar? To judge from some Croatian and Bosnian newspapers, as well as the testimonies of numerous witnesses from Zadar who were at that time in the immediate vicinity of Atif Dudakovic, who was the commander of the artillery division in the "Ante Banina" Yugoslav barracks, from where civilian targets and the population were daily shelled, the answer could be yes. However, the most serious and concrete accusations against Dudakovic come from his former colleague, Antun Ivancic, a former lieutenant colonel in the JNA, who fled to the Croatian side in the summer of 1991.

"I once watched a video tape showing the Serb attack on the village of Lovinac in the Gradac Municipality. On it I could clearly recognize my former colleague and friend Atif Dudakovic, standing on top of a tank that

was destroying everything before it. Today that tape is certainly somewhere in Zagreb and, as far as I know, people from the Zadar ZNG [Croatian National Guard] also saw the recording," Ivancic claims. According to the testimony of Ivancic, one Croatian soldier, who did his military service in Zadar in 1991 and then escaped from the JNA to join the Croatian Army, went to Zagreb to identify Dudakovic, whom he had often seen in the Zadar barracks.

It is interesting that some of the journalists who reported from Zadar in 1991 accused Dudakovic of shelling civilian targets and population from the "Ante Banina" barracks. But Valter Sarovic, the correspondent of HTV's Zadar office, says that he cannot absolutely claim that it was Dudakovic who shelled Zadar. "I cannot say whether it was he personally who pulled the trigger, but I am convinced that, together with Momcilo Perisic [now chief of the FRY General Staff], Dudakovic is the one most responsible for the shelling of Zadar. Because it is a fact that troops from the 'Ante Banina' barracks often fired on Zadar and it is known that the artillery units were commanded by Atif Dudakovic," Sarovic claims. [passage omitted]

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Protest Unscheduled Croat Visit

LD1107220196 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2012 GMT 11 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 11 (TANJUG)—Inhabitants of the village of Nijemci in the Serb area of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, protested on Thursday against an unscheduled visit by a group of Croatian citizens to the village, the local commissioner's office for refugees and displaced persons said.

A group of Croats—two women and 13 men—arrived unexpectedly, accompanied by a Jordanian UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] battalion, in the village of Nijemci and stayed until afternoon. The movement of local residents was limited during their stay and no official of the international civilian police was present.

The Croats freely walked through the village, took notes and before leaving threatened local inhabitants by saying: "You will not stay here long," the statement said.

Representatives of the UNTAES civilian police and the local civilian police were informed of the incident in the afternoon. The representatives conferred with residents who demanded that UNTAES administration Jacques Klein be informed.

Croatia: UNTAES Apologizes to Serb Journalists

AU1207160096 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] With regard to the letter that the provincial press center sent to the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] yesterday, in which they protested UNTAES preventing Serb reporters from reporting from Aljmas and Lipovac, an official apology arrived today from the mission spokesman, Philip Arnold. Here is part of the letter:

"UNTAES indeed did make a mistake and I apologize on behalf of UNTAES and myself to you and your colleagues," says the letter of apology that Philip Arnold sent to Milan Trbojevic, head of the provincial press center.

The letter of apology also contains a sincere promise from UNTAES that in the future it will make sure that all reporters get the same treatment in the province.

"This indeed is our orientation," ends the letter from Philip Arnold concerning the Serb reporters being prevented yesterday from reporting from Aljmas on the reestablishment of traffic on the Drava River and from Lipovac, where work has begun on clearing the village of mines.

Croatia: Russian UNTAES's 'Preelection Maneuver'

AU1207095996 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR
in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 96 p 22

[Article by Boris Komadina: "Russian Maneuvers in Eastern Slavonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The demilitarization of the Croatian Danube Valley has been completed quite successfully, but the implementation of the peaceful reintegration is again in crisis. This time the local Serbs are not, as we might expect, the destructive factor—that role is played by the two countries whose troops have spent most the time in the UNTAES [UN Transitional Authorities of Eastern Slavonia]: Russia and Belgium.

The unusual news that came from the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation building in Moscow was an unpleasant surprise for the UNTAES leadership. On the grounds of the number of their troops in the UNTAES, Moscow demanded a greater role in the military leadership of the UNTAES. Until last year, UN peace forces in that region were alternately commanded by Russian and Belgian officers in six-month terms.

Let us remember that the Erdut agreement—and later the Dayton agreement—defined both the military and

the civil leadership of the UNTAES. Belgian General Joseph Schoups was appointed commander of the armed forces of UNTAES, and all countries who had sent their soldiers in the UNTAES—including Russia—agreed.

Are the Belgians Withdrawing?

The reaction of Belgium was quick and surprisingly fierce. Belgian Defense Minister Jean-Paul Poncelet reacted personally, which illustrates how seriously the Belgians consider this attempt on the part of the Russians to be. Poncelet made it very clear that Belgium would withdraw its soldiers from the Croatian Danube Valley the moment it lost command of the UNTAES. If that really happens, the future of the process of peaceful reintegration will become very uncertain.

The UNTAES administrator, Jacques Klein, has not made any public statements on the Russian initiative. However, according to unofficial information, Klein has asked the U.S. Government to pressure Moscow to withdraw its request for assuming the military leadership of the UNTAES forces.

The Russian request is not illogical at first glance. They have the most soldiers in the UNTAES; there are 1,100 Russian and 900 Belgian soldiers in the Croatian Danube Valley. However, the success of the entire process of peaceful reintegration—or the implementation of the Erdut agreement—depends primarily on the leadership of the UNTAES. The four years of experience with Russian military commanders in that region have not been very pleasant for Croatia. The greatest number of objections about the work of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] referred to Russian military commanders. Another evidence is the fact that two Russian officers who had commanded the former Sector East have publicly sided with the Serbs after they returned to Moscow, accusing Croats of "an aggression against the unprotected Serb people."

Centuries of Friendship or the Russian Election Campaign

The very process of peaceful reintegration had its long and exhausting introduction that consisted of endless negotiations and discussions about all aspects of the peace agreement. The Croats never agreed to accept Russian command of the UNTAES forces. Such requests by Croatia were supported by other world players involved in the peaceful solution of the Croatian Danube Valley problems.

This sudden and unexpected request by Russia should also be interpreted as a "product to be used at home." As the Russian presidential elections were culminating, and chances of Yeltsin and the Communist candidate

[Zuganov] were equal before the second round began, both the presidential candidates craved political points. The current Russian foreign policy is just a pale shadow of the former, which had been powerful and equal to the U.S. Russian national pride in being the second superpower in the world is just a memory now. They need every chance to bring back the old splendor and prove that Russia is still a superpower whose cooperation is necessary for the solution of every current issue.

The idea of "centuries of friendship" between Serbs and Russians is realized once again by this, if only indirectly. We will know very soon whether it was just a Russian prelection maneuver or a real intention to complicate the implementation of peaceful reintegration. This request by Russia, as everyone has warned, might have extremely serious consequences.

Croatia: Women Protest Outside UNTAES Command in Vukovar

LD1507130296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 15 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—A protest meeting of around 1,000 women began in front of the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] command in Vukovar this morning, the regional press center for eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem has announced.

The organizer of the meeting is the women's association of Vukovar municipality, which demands that UNTAES open an investigation into the crimes committed against Serbs in Vukovar and other places in 1990 and 1991, and establish the truth of where the missing Serbs from that period were buried.

The list of demands also includes the opening of a debate about the autonomy of the Serb region within Croatia; the extension of the UN peace mission by another year; the unconditional payment of Croatian pensions; equal rights for Serb and Croatian refugees; and the barring of the reinstatement of fascist symbols, such as the Croatian coat of arms and the kuna [new Croatian currency] in the region.

The women of Vukovar also demand from UNTAES to stop nightly phone provocations from Croatia, or if this is not possible, to cut off the telephone lines again.

The urgent return to the region of UN administrator Jacques Klein, who is on vacation in the United States, is also on the list of demands. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Tudjman Seen 'Sobering-Up' on Power Sharing

AU1507120196 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 96 p 2

[Commentary by Drazen Vukov Colic: "Tudjman Is Looking for His Lebed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest rumor among the Croatian political public—the all-star cast having re-assembled for the repeated dress rehearsal in Zagreb—is that before the summer ends President Tudjman will inevitably have found a Croatian Aleksandr Lebed, just to make sure that he does not have to enter a humiliating second lap in next year's presidential elections. Franjo Tudjman, the invincible "father of the nation," would thus squeeze all he can out of this Constitution, and the opposition would finally have the inevitable "first among equals" (at least the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], the HSS [Croatian Peasants Party], or the SDP [Social Democratic Party]). The ruling party would finally become just another political party, even if it still has the greatest number of votes. That is the only thing that could grant them a long political life.

Although this (too) daring comparison of the Kremlin and Pantovcak has not been confirmed by any direct statements, it seems to be the best summary of the Croatian legislative political crossroads, where Tudjman's sweeping affections for Budisa (or Gotovac, Racan, Tomcic...) can be predicted quite accurately, at least along general lines. Still, those connections would at least give Croatian predemocratic life what it has craved for: The semblance of a two-party system, if nothing else, or at least two very similar cheeks of the same face, which barely resemble two truly different sides of a medal. In general terms, we could play with endless comparisons of Tudjman and Yeltsin, although Zagreb would probably not appreciate some of these comparisons at the moment.

Supporter of Democracy

The most amazing thing in all this, however, is the difference in civilization (regardless how much better this Croatia considers itself to be—in all essential aspects—than the "new" Russia). The Croatian president is looking for someone to reinforce his image as a pro-Western civilized democratic statesman, both at home and abroad, whereas Yeltsin has tried—with abundant international support—to show through his engagement to Lebed that he has not sold his soul to pro-Western liberal ideas. Lebed has thus been called to help as a firm hand, the embodiment of national self-respect, work, order, and peace. Meanwhile, our president needs a person to show both the country and the world—

regardless of the propaganda of "firm democracy," "untouchable sovereignty," "consistent state-creating," "regional power," "class responsibility," and "humble citizenry"—that Franjo Tudjman is truly ready to support the ideas that could make Croatia a West European democracy of a Mediterranean and Central European kind.

Yeltsin has succeeded, but Tudjman is still examining his hazardous chances. Certain recent elections have shown that the communists—whether "new" or "old"—are not the only ones that can overthrow certain beloved governments, and that political self-defense cannot be reduced to new-age political crusades. Forces that Washington does not really favor have come to power in Israel and Turkey; a coalition that "does not belong to Italy" has won the elections in Italy; the man "who should have won in Moscow" lost the elections in Russia; and Poland and Hungary have already seen victories by those who should not have won in those "Catholic" and "pro-western" communities. In these times of constant change the world has become an increasingly complicated place. Accordingly, after the monumental shifts in civilizations, those who have not fulfilled their loudest promises are being punished, regardless of their respectable ideological values, historical doctrine, geostrategic plans, and firm hands in tough democracy.

Reprimands From Washington

Does this ruling party and this president have anything else to offer Croatia? The voters will have the final word on that, but the Presidential Palace seems to be in the kind of panic that might indicate a political sobering-up: The very source of the Croatian political being will not wait helplessly and silently any longer for certain undeserved things to grow even stronger roots. Yeltsin has managed to preserve his political image in the West in spite of shooting in Parliament, while Dini has accused Croatia of "having stopped its democratic development." Washington has withdrawn its political support, too. Clinton has sent President Tudjman the same kind of message that Washington recently sent Erbakan's "fundamentalist" government (which is, nevertheless, balanced in coalition). Just as he reprimanded Zagreb because of Herzeg-Bosnia, he sent a message to Erbakan that he could not neglect old signatures, because "besides rights, NATO members also have duties."

Political Cliffs of Balkans

This Turkish government is as welcome to Clinton as a pebble in his shoe. Netanyahu's victory in Israel has an effect on the White House that could be

compared to a sneezing fit in an opera singer. However, Washington did not even think of denying the Turkish islamists the right to appoint their prime minister, or denying Netanyahu the right to come to power in Israel, although Erbakan's party has a tiny majority in parliament (155 out of 550 seats), and the beloved Peres got less than 1 percent of the votes. The result that comes out of the ballot-box becomes untouchable, regardless of whether it is a majority vote or a plurality coalition (Zagreb). Likewise, signatories of "strategic partnerships" (Washington and Dayton) must mean what they sign. Croatia has found itself in the middle of an identity crisis, and it is primarily up to the Presidential Palace to decide how long we will roll ourselves down the political cliffs of the Balkans.

The Croatian Lebed should be what Yavlinskiy is in Russia. Metaphorically, the Croatian political ship is

in the Black Sea, while the Russian ship is slowly sailing through the Adriatic. That shows that even the best geostrategic theories can be ruined by an unjustifiably self-assured policy based on the premises that one can choose what one wants to have and evade everything else. The opposition really seems to have an unbelievably wide choice: On the one hand, it can ask for almost anything, because the ruling party has wasted almost everything it had; on the other, the opposition might settle for scrap in order to have anything at all in case the Croatian ship actually sinks under its heavy Balkan load. The new negotiations are taking place on that razor's edge, and Tudjman cannot hide his political weariness, despite his apparently being in splendid physical shape.

Poland: NATO Expansion, U.S. Role Assessed

WS1507070796 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 12 Jul 96 p 10

[Article by Stanislaw Polanski: "Poland and NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *For several years now there has been a lively debate going on in Poland and other East and Central European countries on joining NATO. At the same time attempts are being made to approach the alliance on various planes, targeted at enlarging it to the east.*

The United States is becoming increasingly involved in "operational theaters" outside Europe, predominantly in the Middle East and in the Pacific. Europe, meanwhile, is relatively peaceful. Even the Balkan conflict is subsiding. Under the circumstances, the political and strategic leaders of the United States are becoming increasingly inclined to have West Europe (and eventually the whole continent) look after its own security.

In the years 1945-90 Washington externally stimulated integration and unification processes of West Europe and also urged the whole continent to follow the federative U.S. model. It invested heavily, but since 1990 the process of European unification has clearly reached a crisis. The United States is clearly becoming disappointed with this.

Without U.S. aid, the remaining NATO states would have been unable to solve the Bosnian conflict. And yet it was a typical "European war."

It is obvious that the aforesaid change of the U.S. approach to Europe will have an influence on the future of NATO. We know what NATO used to be in the past and what it is now. The great unknown is what it will be in the future.

The biggest obstacle in the way of developing an optimal formula for enlarging NATO to the east is a complete lack of clarity as to what the future role of NATO is to be and what place it is to occupy in the global context.

Meanwhile, in the United States, among the leadership and in society alike, isolationist trends are on the rise. It can be expected that the United States will tend to look after its own security rather than that of others. This fact should be acknowledged also in our country.

West Europe is not yet prepared to think about its own security system without the United States. Deep reform in NATO is inevitable. A basic question thus arises: should we join the alliance before or after the reform is carried out? Common sense advises the second option. But will it not be too late by then?

Many experts claim that the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East pose a serious threat to European and even U.S. security (terrorism, Muslim fundamentalism, etc.). The recent dramatic developments in the Middle East indicate that despite the progress in the peace process, sources of conflicts and large-scale war are not disappearing there.

Hence the possibility is being considered of enlarging NATO to include such North African states as Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Egypt and Israel (as the first). The situation in this conflict-torn region could thus be calmed and stabilized to some degree. The conviction that it is a mistake to claim that European security is one thing and security in the Middle East is another is gaining supporters in NATO circles.

It might therefore be assumed that one of the major options will be enlarging NATO to the south, and only then to the east. Serious consequences flow from this for Poland and other states of Central and East Europe.

Poland: Article Comments on U.S. NATO Enlargement Policy

WS1207135696 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 2 Jul 96 pp 1, 4

[Article by Maksymilian Berezowski: "U.S. Oscillation Cycle; What Is Going on Here?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *When in the beginning of June the Republicans came forth at the U.S. Congress with the suggestion that the enlargement of NATO to include the states of Central Europe be accelerated, the White House protested and persuaded its (Democratic) congressmen to reject the initiative. At the end of June, however, the opposite happened: the U.S. Senate actually demanded (in a 97-0 vote between the Democrats and the Republicans) that President Clinton suspend the process of enlarging NATO until the financial and political costs are assessed in a special report. What is going on here?*

It was no secret that big politics, and not money, were at stake: many senators claim the risk that NATO enlargement might pose for relations with Russia should be considered. The astounding invention of obstacles by politicians from both parties, who seemed to support the idea of strengthening the zone of stable strategic security in Europe, must raise questions about the tenacity and consistency of views expressed at the Capitol in Washington.

Especially as completely different signals are coming from elsewhere. It was reported a couple of days ago that having returned to Vienna from Washington, the

Austrian defense minister said his American interlocutors had assured him that the process of NATO enlargement would soon pick up speed and indicated four candidate states were being considered: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia. But why were those directly interested not informed?

At more or less the same time the West quoted NATO Secretary General Javier Solana asking: "How can Poland be denied membership if it has been trying so hard and should, in fact, be a part of the alliance?"

The amendment to the Pentagon budget law obliging President Clinton to submit the aforementioned report to Congress was initiated by Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, head of the Senate Armed Forces Committee up to 1995 and a recognized expert on such issues, who did not renew his term when it expired last December. He was supported by Kay Hutchinson representing the Republicans, although her party's presidential candidate Bob Dole once again appealed that NATO be enlarged to include the states of Central Europe.

Can this cycle of oscillations be connected in any way with the Russian elections, which some politicians use to scare the Americans? It is worth noting that Russia's new strongman, General Aleksandr Lebed, has disappointed those analysts who claimed he had come to terms with the enlargement of NATO: upon taking office at the Kremlin, Lebed stated that under the circumstances, Russia should strengthen the forces on its western borders.

Moscow is unlikely to fall in love with NATO after the elections. The decision on whether NATO is to enlarge, however, is to be made in a different capital. That is why the symptoms of instability in the West which undermine its credibility and sap its position are more disturbing than the repeated Russian "nyet."

The unexpected demand of the U.S. Senate elicits one comment. The Congress (and parliaments of the remaining NATO states) will ratify agreements on admitting new members. One cannot argue that it is largely up to the President of the United States to prepare the ground in advance. He has a huge influence on the foreign policy of his country which indirectly impacts the attitude of the entire West.

Poland: NATO Issues Defense Planning Questionnaire

*WS1207132396 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish
12 Jul 96 p 2*

[Report by Wojciech Luczak: "We Are Learning NATO Secrets; Classified DPQ Document"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After several years of efforts of our Foreign and Defense Ministries, Poland has finally received a classified document from NATO enabling us to quickly join the system of joint defense planning with the Alliance in the future.

As we learned from unofficial sources, we have received the so-called DPQ—the Defense Planning Questionnaire. It is 240 pages and divided into six chapters of detailed questions on the economy, politics, and combat readiness of each NATO state. According to the Washington-based magazine DEFENSE NEWS, the DPQ asks about the quantity of ammunition, fuel reserves, supply lines, and equipment of joint defense military units. Each year every NATO member taking part in the process of joint defense planning has to fill out the questionnaire. Exempt from the obligation are France, which still remains beyond the Alliance's integrated structures, and Iceland, which does not have its own armed forces.

NATO distributed the DPQ only to those countries which are applying for membership and have signed an agreement with NATO on the protection of secrets. One of our experts claims that thanks to the document, we will be able to test procedures of defense planning in line with NATO requirements. Observers at NATO headquarters claim a growing number of unclassified documents are reaching potential new member states from Central Europe.

Poland: Prosecutors To Interview Pogrom Witnesses in Israel

*LD1407163696 Warsaw TV Polonia Network
in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Jul 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tomorrow the Main Commission for Investigating Crimes against the Polish Nation [mostly dealing with Nazi crimes committed during World War II] will send prosecutors to Israel to question witnesses of the pogrom that took place in [the central city of] Kielce in 1946. Their testimony is to help identify the people who were responsible for the tragic events.

The questioning of 12 witnesses will be conducted by an Israeli court. Our prosecutors will be present at the hearings. The questions have been prepared by the Polish side.

The investigation into the Kielce pogrom has been continuing for four years now. Among other things, the Ministry of Internal Affairs archives have been searched for documents.

On 4 July 1946 a crowd of Kielce residents killed 42 Jews. The reason was a rumor about an alleged ritual murder by Jews of a Polish boy. Until now the authorities have failed to establish who was responsible for the pogrom.

Poland: Interior Minister Declassifies 30-Year-Old Archives

WS1207125396 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish
12-14 Jul 96 p 2

[Report by Malgorzata Dragan: "Bomb in the MSW Closet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski has announced that archive materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and the Office of State Protection dating back to 1966 will be declassified.

"I want the new regulation to conform with those applied in other archives. We want a creeping system providing for the declassification of 30-year-old documents," said Siemiatkowski. He did stress, however, that data on intelligence and counterintelligence agents will remain classified, albeit with some exceptions. He gave the example of his decision that at the request of the prosecutor's office the names of agents involved in the death of Stanislaw Pyjas, a student from Krakow, and the mysterious deaths of two priests, Suchowalec and Niedzielak, be revealed. In each of those cases, however, there was reason to presume that a crime had been committed.

The minister added that top secret documents are not kept in the archives, but are at the disposal of each successive interior minister. Asked by the SZTANDAR reporter what period those documents come from, Siemiatkowski said the oldest one dates "some 20 years" back. He added there are not many such files, although they "are a political bomb."

The minister announced his decision to declassify archive materials to historians and publicists he invited to the MSW. He wants them to act as a scientific council of sorts which would help define rules on the accessibility of the archives. Although the historians want the widest declassification possible, they did express their fears that "the MSW archives might get trampled on."

Poland: Defense Ministry To Buy Spanish Transport Aircraft

LD1307215596 Warsaw TV Polonia Network
in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Most probably the Ministry of National Defence [MON] will soon start negotiations on the purchase of a modern transport aircraft for our air forces. Krzysztof Wegrzyn, deputy minister of national defense responsible for arms procurement and military infrastructure, revealed that the first allocation of ministry budget funds for this purpose would be made next year. The Spanish two-engine turboprop transport aircraft CASA CN-235 has been the favourite contender among some of our army and military industry officials. [passage omitted]

A draft agreement for the supply to Poland of eight CASA CN-235 planes is already awaiting its final version. The agreement was postponed a year ago for procedural and financial reasons.

For their part, the Spaniards would have to buy eight of our Sokol helicopters, which are already flying over the Pyrenees fighting forest fires. Apart from this, the CASA concern [Construcciones Aeronauticas SA] concern is to make available to our aircraft industry the most modern composite technologies. The payment for the eight CN-235 transport planes, which are worth over \$15 million, would be spread over 10 years. However, Polish aviation experts say that certain military circles are against the contract with the Spaniards because the price demanded by the prospective supplier is too high.

Slovenia: Former Yugoslav People's Army General Arrested

LD1207214596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—At the Hodos border crossing with Hungary, Slovene police today arrested and detained for interrogation retired Lieutenant Colonel General Milan Aksentijevic of the former the Yugoslav People's Army, who was on a visit there with his wife and children.

The Slovene MUP [Interior Ministry] announced measures against Aksentijevic, because the judicial bodies in Ljubljana suspected him of "serving in an enemy army and involvement in destruction during the war."

After the interrogation conducted by inspectors of the Criminal Investigation Department from Murska Sobota and Ljubljana, Aksentijevic was allowed to travel outside the capital with his son. He was in possession of a valid visa for Slovenia, issued by the Slovene embassy in Budapest.

Aksentijevic was a senior Yugoslav People's Army officer in Ljubljana until 1992, as well as a deputy in the Slovene Assembly.

The Slovene judiciary mentioned a possibility of bringing charges against Aksentijevic next week, while he was still in Slovenia. Aksentijevic told Ljubljana Radio in this connection that he "did not feel guilty" and that he was "ready to face any honorable court."

Federal

FRY: Jokanovic Declines Comment on Karadzic Warrant

AU1207194896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
1231 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 12 July (BETA)—Vukasin Jokanovic, Yugoslav minister of internal affairs, did not want to comment today on the international warrant for the arrest of Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

"I have not been informed about it," Jokanovic told BETA.

In response to the remark that Antonio Cassese, president of the Hague tribunal, had informed the UN Security Council that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic were not cooperating with the tribunal, Jokanovic said: "Why don't you ask the spokesman for the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] about that?"

Asked the same question, SPS spokesman Ivica Dacic told BETA reporters to see Minister Jokanovic, "who has authority, as he is in the government."

FRY: Hague Official Expects Karadzic, Mladic To Be Tried

AU1407191296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
0852 GMT 14 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hague, 14 July (BETA)—Graham Blewitt, deputy prosecutor of the Hague International War Crimes Tribunal, stated that he expected that Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic would be arrested and tried sooner or later.

We have created a sound basis for this, Blewitt told the BETA agency.

"We expect that those whose obligation it is to arrest the war criminals also do so. We believe that the evidence brought up against Karadzic and Mladic before the tribunal pursuant to Regulation 61 will increase the pressure on the countries to fulfill their obligation of arrest," Blewitt said.

He reminded that the primary obligation to arrest the accused lies with the countries, but voiced hope that the Implementation Force [IFOR] would also decide to act.

"Following the application of Regulation 61 and the maintenance of pressure by international public opinion, we hope that those who give orders to NATO and IFOR will decide to order their arrest. The IFOR forces can definitely arrest Karadzic and Mladic, as they have the capacity and the legal basis for it. Therefore, we would love to see this happen," Blewitt said.

The application of Regulation 61 helps to additionally convince the international community about the existence of sufficient evidence that Karadzic and Mladic should be brought before justice. "They should answer publicly before the tribunal for what they stand accused. It is not sufficient to say that the tribunal is political, that one does not recognize it, and that one will not surrender to it," Blewitt said.

The international arrest warrants will further marginalize Karadzic and Mladic, who will be "locked within their own borders," which according to Blewitt is "very important." If they set foot outside these borders we expect that each country will fulfill its obligation and arrest them, the deputy Hague prosecutor added.

When asked what if nothing happens, Blewitt replied that he truly believed that the two would eventually be brought to the tribunal.

"There are people being tried today for acts perpetrated 50 years ago. Perhaps this tribunal will cease to exist, perhaps a permanent international tribunal will be set up in 10 years' time, but the warrants for their arrest will remain in force. In time, if the accused are still alive, the evidence will still be there, and they will be tried sooner or later," Blewitt said.

"From the professional point of view I will be satisfied knowing that we took part in the creation of the preconditions for their trial. This is a question of the change in circumstances and the creation of conditions for the criminal persecution of the war crimes perpetrators. I believe that we created a solid basis for this," he assessed.

Blewitt said that the Hague prosecutor's office in Belgrade will be opened as soon as the agreement between the FRY and the United Nations is signed. According to his information, the Yugoslav delegation is expected to soon travel to New York in connection with this.

He said that FRY authorities had responded positively to the request for the transfer of the process against Drazen Erdemovic to the Hague Tribunal. "From Belgrade we received a letter of consent to transfer the investigation of the Erdemovic case to the tribunal and we were sent the documents that we sought. This was an altogether cooperative move, and we are very satisfied," Blewitt stated.

Erdemovic (24), who admitted taking part in the mass execution of the Muslims from Srebrenica in July 1995, was transferred to the Hague following his arrest in the FRY at the beginning of March.

The deputy Hague prosecutor said that the investigation of the Croatian operation Storm was progressing. "Now we have access to the witnesses in Banja Luka and other towns, the Serb victims. This is a vast investigation that will take a while," said Blewitt.

He remarked that the fact that the new bills of indictment had been issued against Bosnian Serb individuals "could provoke fresh criticism that the tribunal sports an anti-Serb stance," but stressed that the tribunal "is impartial, and wishes to secure a fair and honest trial for all the accused."

The bills of indictment stemmed from a lengthy investigation that has now been completed, Blewitt said, and announced more bills of indictment against Bosnians Serbs, as another investigation is also nearing completion. "This does not, however, mean that we are focused only on the Serbs, but that we had limited access to the Serb victims and witnesses."

"This is changing now, and we are very pleased that this is the case. In time this will lead to new indictments against non-Serb perpetrators of crimes," Blewitt said, and added that "ultimately there will be as many accused as we can gather evidence against."

"This is merely the beginning of a long process in which we will objectively pursue each trace," Blewitt stated for the BETA agency.

FRY: UN Observers To Remain on Prevlaka Until 1997

LD1207101796 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1005 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, July 12 (TANJUG)—U.N. military observers on a special peace mission on the Prevlaka promontory will remain there until early 1997 and Yugoslavia and Croatia are expected to resolve the issue of the controversial area at the entrance of the Boka Kotorska Bay by then.

A U.N. Security Council draft resolution, which will most probably be adopted on Monday, approves a proposal forwarded by U.N. secretary-general proposal to extend the mandate but not for three but six months because the council estimates that the presence of the observers will be necessary in that period of time at the least.

A total of 28 international military observers have been stationed on Prevlaka promontory, a key strategic area on the border between F.R. Yugoslavia and Croatia, since the beginning of the year. The military observers, whose number has doubled since the beginning of their special U.N. mission, directly submit all their reports to the U.N. secretary-general.

In a report presented to the U.N. Security Council two weeks ago, Butrus-Ghali said that the situation on Prevlaka was stable, that military observers had no difficulties in performing their tasks and that no serious incidents had occurred, but that all that was not sufficient for terming the situation as normal.

Butrus-Ghali urged both sides—Yugoslavia and Croatia—to speed up negotiations so as to find a negotiated solution as soon as possible. That is important for a normalization of their bilateral relations, which will altogether positively affect peace in the Balkans, he added.

The U.N. Security Council is expected on Monday to adopt a resolution which will extend the mandate until January 15, 1997.

FRY: ICRC To Run Courses on Humanitarian Law for Army

AU1007131896 Paris AFP in English
1245 GMT 10 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 10 (AFP)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will organize courses in international humanitarian law for civilian and military officials in Yugoslavia under an agreement signed here Wednesday.

The five-year agreement was signed by the Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic and the ICRC's representative in Belgrade, Francois Bellon.

"Spreading knowledge of international humanitarian law is an integral part of the ICRC mandate as the originator and guardian of the Geneva convention," Bellon said.

The courses are designed to instruct military and civilian personnel in the armies of Serbia and Montenegro—the two remaining components of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—in proper war-time conduct.

Bellon said that such initiatives can contribute to the development of awareness of international humanitarian law in post-war Yugoslavia.

The first class is scheduled for late 1996. In the meantime, an ICRC expert is expected to travel to Belgrade for meetings with the defense ministry, to draw a working program.

FRY: FM Urges Agreement on Division of Assets

LD1407105496 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1042 GMT 14 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, July 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic has called on the states which emerged in the territory of the

former Yugoslavia to agree on the division of the former federation's property on their own, without international mediators.

Speaking in an interview to the Saturday/Sunday dual issue of the Skopje newspaper VECER, Milutinovic said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia urged a just division of the former Yugoslavia's property, but rightly requested the recognition of its political continuity with the former federation.

Milutinovic said that all countries that emerged in the territory of the former Yugoslavia knew best what they had had, who requested what and who wanted what.

Direct talks without outside mediation are the best and fastest way to agree on the division of the former Yugoslavia's property, he said.

The stalling with the settlement of this issue suits international banks, which earn by keeping former Yugoslavia's gold, Milutinovic said.

Speaking about the political continuity, Milutinovic said that current members of the Yugoslav Federation, Serbia and Montenegro, had a legal continuity since 1870s, i.e. since the Berlin Congress.

"They (Serbia and Montenegro) have practically lent it to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Now that Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have left, there is no reason why we should not get what is ours," Milutinovic said.

He compared the process of succession of the states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia with a divorce. "You keep your name and divide the property. Therefore, there is no reason why we (Yugoslavia) should not keep it," Milutinovic said.

Serbia

Serbia: Justice Minister on Criminal Code, Hague Tribunal

LD1407151796 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1340 GMT 14 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—Serbian Justice Minister Arandjel Markicevic has stated that a Yugoslav criminal law draft envisages the abolition of capital punishment.

Speaking in a TANJUG panel discussion, Markicevic said the draft envisaged that death penalty be replaced by life imprisonment or a 30-year prison sentence.

Markicevic said the death penalty issue was expected to give rise to much controversy and that, consequently, a convention on the issue would be held in September.

He said it was realistic to expect that a new criminal code would be adopted next year.

A draft including modifications of Serbia's criminal law is also being mapped out and will be on the agenda of the parliament's autumn session, he said.

"Our legislation has not been brought in accord with the E.U. law, but there is a realistic prospect of this being done in a relatively short period of time," he said.

Commenting on cooperation between Yugoslav judicial authorities and The Hague-based international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Markicevic said that cooperation was based on the relevant Yugoslav and international regulations.

"Our judicial authorities have already instituted certain proceedings at the request of The Hague tribunal and its prosecutor Richard Goldstone," he said.

He said the tribunal's requests were incomplete and did not contain sufficient information about perpetrators of criminal acts, crimes they were charged with, the time or the scene of crime.

"I think that remarks circulated in public about the tribunal being a political rather than legal institution whose functioning should be based on legal elements only are justified," he said.

Referring to causes of decades-old inefficiency by courts in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, Markicevic said a gap had been created by resignations of experienced ethnic Albanian judges who had resigned under ethnic Albanian separatist leaders' instructions.

Markicevic said the Serbian Justice Ministry had made a comprehensive programme for expert and technical assistance to courts in Kosovo and Metohija, describing as very good the results achieved in the first six months of implementing the programme.

Serbia: President Milosevic Tops Popularity Poll

LD1207150196 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1337 GMT 12 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is still the most popular politician in this Yugoslav republic, according to poll conducted in Belgrade and twelve other cities in Serbia by the agency IPRES.

Milosevic is the most popular personality for 56.5 percent of citizens polled, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI said Friday.

President of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) Vuk Draskovic is second-placed with 8.5 percent.

The next placed are leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) Vojislav Kostunica, who received 6.5 percent, leader of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) Vojislav Seselj with 5 percent, and Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic who received 3.5 percent in the popularity poll.

For 12.5 percent of citizens nobody is popular.

Milosevic obtained great confidence from 26 percent of citizens polled, partial from 36.5 percent, not much from 22.5 percent, while 11.5 percent of citizens of Serbia have no confidence in him.

On the basis of data collected, the agency IPRES has concluded that 3 to 10 percent of the citizens polled who vote for opposition parties at the same time have most confidence in Slobodan Milosevic.

Serbia: Cause of Arms Factory Explosion Unknown
AU1207085396 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
28 Jun 96 pp 27-28

[Article by Slobodan Ikonik: "A Third Factor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just after the breakfast break finished in the "Prva iskra—Special-Purpose Production" (on 21 June), there was a horrible explosion in one of the factories for the production of explosives. Two workers lost their lives—Nedjo Spinja (42) and Dragan Lukovic (30)—and the public was considerably upset because the factory for special-purpose production is situated right next to its "big brother," the factory of base chemistry, which has the same name but is 10 times as big. Allegedly there were no eyewitnesses and different stories about the cause of the explosion appeared in public.

One of the first stories that appeared said that the two workers had been killed while cleaning the huge receptacle which is used for making explosive mass—caused by the accidental activation of 20 kg of TNT explosive left over from the previous production process.

This version was denied in the factory, but they do not want to go into any detailed explanations before several commissions (from the military, the police, the factory....), which were immediately formed, officially establish the cause of the tragedy. Vojin Mirkovic, technical director of the special-purpose production of "Prva iskra" in Baric, only stated that at the time of the explosion no production had been under way and that preparations for a new cycle had been made. "Production was already completed, and the explosive was being prepared for transportation. There were no large amounts of explosive there, but probably small traces of hex-

ogen, left over from the previous production process. Those amounts are usually eliminated during washing. All the explosive is taken out of the receptacles, and then the washing starts. Two workers, Slavisa Popovic and Miroslav Vasic, had taken the explosive out, and Spinja and Lukovic had already washed two containers and then pushed a third receptacle to be washed. They were hard-working and conscientious qualified chemical workers with long experience in this work. At the time of the accident they were the only ones in that place so that we do not know what happened exactly."

Other, different information appeared in the public concerning the kind of explosive. According to that version, it was the PETN (pentrit) explosive, which is used for the production of detonating fuse, but for the pharmaceutical industry. The famous medicine against heart disease "lentonitrat" is actually PETN pure. It is suspected, although it will never be possible to establish this with certainty, that the two workers dropped the receptacle, or that a metal piece of equipment fell on it. And the detonation can be provoked by a blow, rubbing, electricity....

One of the two uninjured workers, Slavisa Popovic, did not want to say anything about the accident, but did not state his reasons. He himself was rather shaken because he had escaped only by chance, and his best friends had been killed. We were not able to reach the other uninjured worker, Miroslav Vasic. One of the workers in the factory at that time did not want to tell us his name. He only said: "That is the kind of work it is. An explosion can always happen where you do not expect it and when you least expect it." He probably also had in mind the case some seven or eight years ago, when three workers were killed. In that incident there were some traces of sensitive explosive on some metal pipes. When one of the workers tried to cut the pipe with a machine, there was an explosion.

"This explosion was provoked by RDH—hexogen explosive," NIN's anonymous source claims, an expert who is very well acquainted with the production process in this factory. "That is a white crystal dust, and it is one of the destructive explosives used for filling explosive devices. The production process is conducted in a special space, dug in [the earth] and surrounded by concrete walls. There are corridors inside, similar to a labyrinth, with the purpose of reducing the blow effect and neutralizing the shock wave in case of an explosion. Even the floor is special, it conducts electricity in order to neutralize the electrostatic electricity which could cause an explosion."

In his words, the danger of explosion still exists because any amount of hexogen is prone to explosion. The

smallest traces suffice. "It can happen that there are some traces of explosive left on a screw. During twisting the screw is activated and it literally behaves as a projectile," this source says. "Because of such sensitivity in production, constant controls and revisions are necessary, and in case of any doubt the whole production process is stopped. There are numerous books in which the entire procedure of work and behavior in the object is described in detail. Workers should not do anything on their own initiative, without previous directions from the managers."

The factory in which hexogen is produced is very sensitive. Only the factory in which octogen explosives are produced is more sensitive. The production technology is ours, independently developed, to high standards, as this expert says, and it was also sold to Iraq. The receptacle in which the explosive is made is of stainless steel because of the components that are very aggressive (like nitrogen acid). It has a simple funnel-like shape, 1.5 meters high and one meter wide. When it is cleaned, the bigger part is taken off and away in sacks, and the rest is washed with water. "There is always the possibility that small amounts of the explosive might stay on a part of the receptacle, for example on the edge. It is possible that it was not handled carefully enough. That the receptacle hit the wall or was dropped a little. The blow must come exactly on the part where the explosive is, in order to activate it."

Data about the work of the factory also shows that everything was not as it should be. Earlier it worked continuously in shifts (with four teams). It is presently in a period of financial crisis. There are not enough buyers, so production is carried out sporadically, according to need. Overhauls are, probably, less frequent as well, and not as detailed as they should be.

Zdravko Spinja, the younger brother of Nedjo Spinja, does not believe that the latest explosion was caused by a lack of attention of his brother or by the younger Lukovic: "This tragedy was not caused by that. It was some third factor. I think it was a strong explosion because I heard that a 150-kg lid flew more than 25 meters in the air. Everything was ripped off and pieces of iron flew all over like bullets. My brother and his colleague were brought in closed and welded coffins, without any glass openings. We do not even know what is inside. I did not have the chance to see my brother's remains. After the accident, it was not possible to come close to the scene of the accident—the police was all around. Only those who were working there at that moment could see it. Something must be done. This is chaos and ruin. Somebody else will get killed. This poverty influences people. When people are economically weak, they are endangered more.

Everything boils down to money. I do not think that we will ever find out what really happened. I am afraid that it might be the same as it was with 'Grmec,' where the causes of the explosion are not known even after one year."

It looks as though it was Nedjo Spinja's destiny to end up this way. At the same working place, just before the New Year, he was seriously injured, that is, he was burnt with the acid used in the production of explosive. Before this accident happened, he had not wanted to prolong his sick leave, although he could have done so. "He could not take the loneliness, poverty and the lack of money," his brother says.

The answer to all unknowns concerning this case should be given by various commissions, formed for this occasion. Our expert source says that four to five days are enough for that. Until now there has been no official report.

Will there ever be one?

Serbia: Future Accident at Chemical Plant Could Kill 200,000

*AU1207144196 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
28 Jun 96 pp 26-28*

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "Mowing Hay in Baric"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The accident at Baric happened precisely on the anniversary of the tragedy at the company "Grmec," which is based in Zemun. Last year at "Grmec," 11 employees were killed and nine wounded. At 1030 last Friday in Baric, at the "Prva iskra" company's plant for special production, "only" two men were killed. Nedjo Spinja (42) from Zabrezje near Obrenovac, and Dragan Lukovic (30) from Baric. At "Grmec" ammonium perchloride explosive from Senta had been brought in illegally to make rocket fuel at a plant for making floor tiles!!! At the "Prva iskra" special production plant at Baric, explosives were made legally, so the risk of such an accident goes with the job description. But there is another secret link between "Grmec" of Zemun and "Prva iskra" of Baric—and that is Rajko Uncanin. From 1991 until recently, he was director of both "Grmec" and "Prva iskra" at the same time. True, not of the plant for special production but the "civilian" part of the plant (which is in the same complex), where chlorine and "phosgene" are used. In other words, materials that are also used for the production of—poisonous gas. The military and the civilian parts of the plant are in a way connected "like interconnecting vessels," so the investigation into last week's explosion in Baric will be carried out, we have learned, by both the military and civilian authorities, although

the accident only involved the military production facilities!?

And the Ship Sails

Way back in 1988, one of our ships was followed in international waters in the Mediterranean because of its "suspicious freight." It was forced to sail to the port of Tel Aviv. It turned out that it was transporting "phosgene" from Baric—for Saddam Husayn. That was somehow concealed. The name of the ship's captain was never mentioned again. We will not mention it now either.

We should also not mention the name of a courageous and honorable colonel who, at the time of the incident with our ship in Tel Aviv, told an environmental symposium in Tuzla (where they had just started producing rival Bosnian "phosgene") that "if there is an environmental accident at Baric, the consequences would be more tragic than in Bhopal in India." According to the colonel, if there were a "serious" accident at "Prva iskra," not in the special production part but in the "civilian" part, 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants of Belgrade would be killed in the first wave. (Baric is not more than 20 kilometers from Terazije [central Belgrade]; even less as the crow flies). The number of victims would depend on the "direction of the winds." If, for example, at that moment the wind were blowing from the direction of Pancevo, "phosgene" and chlorine would kill "only" 50,000 inhabitants of Belgrade. But, if the wind were blowing from Sabac, then 200,000 of us would be killed. Like flies.

The inhabitants of Baric would be sentenced to certain death in either case. Some time ago, they were distributed Orwellian directions on how to behave in the event of an accident at "Prva iskra." Leaflets were distributed, just like the time of the occupation, but these leaflets upset the inhabitants of Baric even more. They said: "If you smell a dull smell of mown hay (that is how 'phosgene' smells), wet some sheets, put them over your head, do not breathe deeply, but try to get to the evacuation centers as quickly as possible." (?)

The inhabitants of Baric changed the words of that leaflet slightly: "Put sheets over your head and head slowly for—the graveyard!" The police threatened them, arrested them at night. And in 1987, the whole of Baric was alarmed in the middle of the night when "a stuffy reddish smoke" appeared. Until 1988, the inhabitants of Baric lived under the daily threat of ecocide and dared not say a word about it to the press.

And then in March 1988 Zivko Cuckovic, president of the local community, and Voja Ivanovic, deputy, were the first to speak out. They disclosed to journalists that

"dynamite from the special production plant is stored within the plant complex," and that "one trailer truck loaded with dynamite had slid into a ditch by the roadside and overturned on its way to the storage depot." Of all the authorities, only the police were present at those stormy meetings in the local community building. Sreten Savic of the municipal police openly told the inhabitants of Baric: "If it is established that the plant endangers the workers and the surroundings—it will be closed." But, nothing came of it. Because, Baric was later visited by Ivan Stambolic (then president of Serbia) with Dragisa Pavlovic [communist official, then rival of Milosevic] (the third one, Slobodan Milosevic, did not come). Neither Buca [Pavlovic's nickname] nor Ivica [Stambolic's nickname], nor anyone else, either in Baric or in Belgrade, mentioned the closing of "Prva iskra." At the formal opening of the plant in June 1986 (it had been operating without a work permit), Buca Pavlovic, then president of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade, said that "everything had been done to ensure the environmental safety of the plant," which was nothing but a lie. Not even a formal environmental study had been made. And not only an environmental study. Everything started in the wrong way at "Prva iskra." [passage omitted]

On the eve of the war, and with the introduction of the multiparty system, the people in Serbia, including those in Baric, gained more courage. They organized a rally in front of the industrial complex and in Mislodjin. The Baric revolt had the support of the Democratic Party and the Green Party: They called for "Prva iskra" to be closed. Relocation was possible too. If that was economically and environmentally profitable and viable at all. The police no longer arrested the local leaders of the environmental protest in the middle of the night. The first multiparty elections came.... An independent union of workers was formed at "Prva iskra." The regime found a peculiar solution. Rajko Uncanin, an expert on stifling workers' protests, was appointed director of "Prva iskra"—at the same time he remained director of "Grmec?!" In that way, Uncanin, beside his salary from "Grmec," also earned money at "Prva iskra." His salary was only a little more than Helmut Kohl's. At "Prva iskra" Uncanin operated according to the tried and true recipe from "Grmec." He sent disobedient workers on compulsory vacation, he fired them.... The loyal ones he offered and promised flats and high wages. Things went on like that until, after one year, he was physically assaulted in the corridor of the administrative building by an engineer. Shortly afterward, in 1993, he left "Prva iskra" and went back to his Zemun parish," says engineer Zarko Radenkovic, member of the "Grmec" independent union.

When he came to Baric, Rajko Uncanin announced that "Prva iskra" would be the pride of Serbia. And he started with the parking lot?! Uncanin said, literally: "I was appalled when I saw the cobblestone parking places, full of holes and dust. When I ordered that it be asphalted, they warned me that that would be expensive. I told them to add that drop to the bucket of losses they had made."

"When he went to Baric, Rajko Uncanin took with him his team of experts from 'Grmec': Samojko Dragic, Mitic, the two Petrovics, all in all around 15 of them. And what could those experts do at 'Prva iskra,' if you know that our 'Grmec' technology was at a lower level than Baric's? They could only spread Marxism and Leninism with Uncanin, until the 'Prva iskra' workers beat them and threw them out," says Milo Djukanovic, president of the "Grmec" independent union.

Thus, Rajko went back to "Grmec," and you already know what happened in Grmec under his management last year....

And what did he leave behind in Baric?

"Ever since the time of director Savo Popovic, it has been known that the cisterns of 'phosgene' leaked,

and that the poisonous gas leaked into the ground, the ground waters, into the Sava River.... It is known that there was no overhaul in Uncanin's time, or after him. And it is known that the maintenance of such plants must be done regularly. For example, vents must be replaced, just as is done with aircraft, after every 1,000 working hours. Regardless of whether the capacities are in operation or not," engineer Zarko Radenkovic adds.

So the inhabitants of Baric can only thank God for every new day they live to see, even if they did not have the special military production in the same industrial complex as "Prva iskra." In the special production plant, they claim that there is no chance of an incident at their factory spreading to the "civilian" part of the plant? Really not?

In one of the plant's propaganda texts, it is written that "Prva iskra" is a plant of "world standard" and has "55 years of tradition." You had better believe it. Particularly if you live in the Obrenovac-Baric-Terazije triangle. You will feel better. Until the next explosion.

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